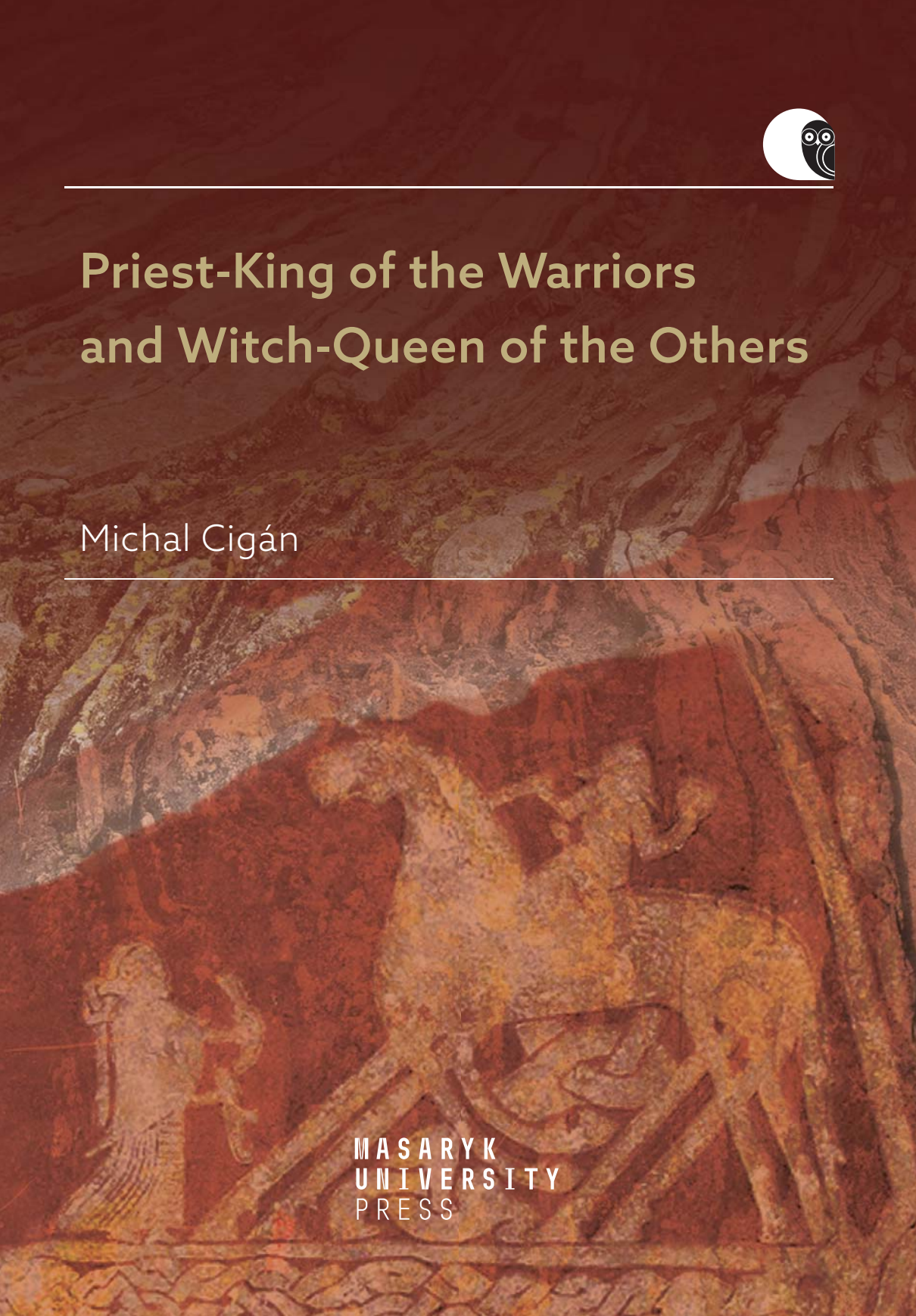
Priest-King of the Warriors and Witch-Queen of the Others

Michal Cigán



MASARYK
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

Priest-King of the Warriors and Witch-Queen of the Others

In this book an interpretation of two Indo-European mythological themes within their complex context is presented. Especially historical and socio-cognitive aspects of their background are considered. By means of this approach an innovative interpretation of an otherwise traditional mythological structure is proposed as well as a new one introduced.

In the first part of the book the matter of well-known Indo-European creation myth is discussed. It is hypothetically concluded that Proto-Indo--European cultural area originated in prehistoric Cargo Cult. Certain motives and themes of Indo--European creation myth are then interpreted as possible semantic relics of Pre-Proto-Indo--European Cargo Cult ideology.

In the second part an attempt to present the brand new Indo-European mythological structure, so called witch-hunting myth, is made. Various local manifestations of narrative dealing with the conflict of elites with the demonic army led by a female witch are analyzed. A basic sujet pattern is identified and then interpreted as an outcome of archaic Indo-European societies' social and gender setting.

Michal Cigán (1978)

Michal Cigán was born in Bratislava, Slovakia. In 2002 he graduated from the Slovak University of Technology in Bratislava as a geodetic surveyor. In 2008 he received his master's degree in religious studies from Comenius University in Bratislava and in 2016 successfully finished PhD studies of comparative Indo-European linguistics at Masaryk University in Brno. During his humanity studies he focused on the subject of comparative Indo-European mythology and linguistics. Now he works in the field of geodesy and cadastre and Indo-European studies remain one of his hobbies. He lives in the Slovak countryside with his wife, two sons, dog and cat.

MUNI
PRESS

MUNI
ARTS

ISBN 978-80-210-9341-6

#**492**

OPERA FACULTATIS PHILOSOPHICAE
UNIVERSITATIS MASARYKIANAE

SPISY FILOZOFICKÉ FAKULTY
MASARYKOVY UNIVERZITY

MUNI
ARTS

Priest-King of the Warriors and Witch-Queen of the Others

Cargo Cult and Witch Hunt
in Indo-European Myth and Reality

Michal Cigán

MASARYK
UNIVERSITY
PRESS

BRNO 2019

KATALOGIZACE V KNIZE – NÁRODNÍ KNIHOVNA ČR

Cigán, Michal
Priest-king of the warriors and witch-queen of the others : cargo cult and witch hunt in Indo-European myth and reality / Michal Cigán. – First published. – Brno : Masaryk University Press, 2019. – 166 stran. – (Opera Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Masarykianae = Spisy Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity, ISSN 1211-3034 ; 492)
Částečně souběžný text v různých jazycích, ruské resumé
Obsahuje bibliografii

ISBN 978-80-210-9341-6 (brožováno)

* 23+252/257 * 001.83 * 2-264 * 304 * 316.34 * 2-1 * 316.66-055.1/.3 * 316.344.42 * 2-382-055.2 * 259.7-137-32 * 2-1-2-65 * (048.8)
– indoevropské mytologie – interdisciplinární aspekty
– mýty – sociální aspekty
– sociální stratifikace – mytologické aspekty
– gender – mytologické aspekty
– elity
– čarodějnice
– kargo kulty
– srovnávací mytologie
– monografie

2-1 - Přirozená teologie. Náboženská filozofie [5]

Reviewers: prof. RNDr. Ivo Budil, Ph.D., DSc. (University of West Bohemia)
doc. PhDr. et PaedDr. Zbyněk Holub, Ph.D. (Silesian University in Opava)

© 2019 Masaryk University Press, Michal Cigán

ISBN 978-80-210-9341-6
ISBN 978-80-210-9342-3 (online : pdf)
ISSN 1211-3034
https://doi.org/10.5817/CZ.MUNI.M210-9342-2019

Content

Introduction 7

THEORETICAL BACKGROUND 11
1 Indo-Europeans: Urheimat and Folkgeist Issue 15
2 Myth and its Academic Reflection 17
2.1 Mind and Society Behind the Myth 20
2.2 From Singing to Writing 23
2.2.1 Interferences and Discontinuities 23
3 Terminology 28
3.1 Text, Texture and Context 29
4 Methodology 33
5 Selected texts 35

ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION 37
1 Ritual Against the Brother 39
1.1 Mezzo-Context: Big Man System and Chiefdom 40
1.1.1 Historical Manifestation: Gens 43
1.1.2 Theoretical Generalisation 54
1.2 Macro-Context: Neolithic Cargo Cult in Pontic-Caspian Steppes 58
1.2.1 Neighbourly Envy Theory 59
1.2.2 The Cargo Cult 60
1.2.2.1 Explanation of Cargo Cult 62
1.2.3 Behold, the Lords of the Animals Come 65
1.2.4 From Cargo Cult to Proto-Indo-Europeans 67
1.2.5 *(S)Th$_2$eu̯ros, *Pe$\hat{k}$u, *G$^{\text{u̯}}$ōusk$^{\text{u̯}}$e *H$_2$eu̯sos: Bull, Cattle Property and the Cows of Dawn 68
1.3 Recomposing the Indo-European Cosmogonic Myth 69
1.3.1 Song of the First Murderer 73
1.3.2 Song of the Cattle Prophet 75
1.3.3 Song of the Big Man 78
2 War Against the Witch 82
2.1 Mezzo-Context: Indo-European Rulers and Their Villains 83
2.1.1 Expel the Heretics 83
2.1.2 Burn the Witches 84
2.1.3 Fight the Rebels 86
2.2 The Texts 89
2.2.1 Æsir and Vanir 89
2.2.2 Īsung and Hertnið 97
2.2.3 Devāḥ and Asurāḥ 105
2.2.4 Popelvār and Ježibaba 113

2.2.5 Witch-War Theme in Other Slavic Folklore 121
2.2.5.1 Fight of Saint George Against the Winter 121
2.2.5.1.1 *Cveten Gəorgi and Juda Samodiva* 124
2.2.5.1.2 *Jegorij Xrabryj and Three Snake Herdesses* 126
2.2.5.1.3 *Jegorij Xrabryj and Krivda* 130
2.2.5.2 Banishing Winter 137
2.2.5.3 Broader Folklore Background 138
2.3 Composing the Indo-European Witch-Hunting Myth 143

CONCLUSION 149

Bibliography 157
Sources 157
References 158

Резюме 165

INTRODUCTION

This book deals with anthropologically reassessed matter of Indo-European (IE) comparative mythology. Two themes are focused on directly; the primordial creation of stratified society and the conflict of elite with female witches. Invariant textual structures attested to throughout the comparative analysis are interpreted as reflections of social processes running in the contextual background of myths.

The chosen approach is based on a well-founded assumption that myth generally reflects the social life of the community by which it has been produced. All the other possible influential factors (material basis of society, historical events, natural phenomena etc.) are of secondary importance, as the point of their mythological reflection is still to demonstrate the social affairs.

Socially and anthropologically oriented comparative analysis can be considered a kind of methodological challenge in the case of IE myths. They used to be analyzed as an internally coherent and culturally exclusive set of texts. Here a different approach is demonstrated; an attempt to interpret IE myths as a matter of mechanics innate for human societies in general. Thus the methodological clash typical for humanities – exclusiveness versus universality – is evidently present. However, it will be shown that this double track interpretation is not contradictory at all.

A primary aim of this book is to bring a reassessed, more complex interpretation of well-established IE creation myth as well as to introduce a new IE mythological theme, the so-called witch-hunting myth.

Its secondary aim is to propose an alternative interpretative model for Indo-European comparative mythology (IECM). As far as I know, a thoroughly context-focused socio-anthropological approach to IE myths has not been practiced so far. The origins of discipline are drowned in idealistic romantic mythology

of natural phenomena. What is more, under the heavy influence of historical comparative linguistics interest has been centered more on the nomenclature of mythical entities than on the myths themselves. Therefore, the social processes in the background of the myths simply could not grab the attention of pioneering IE mythologists.

Comparison of the mythological texts *per se* was first introduced by the well-known work of G. Dumézil. However, Dumézil focused upon a narrow set of identified inter-textual structures rather then on examination of a myth's content in connection with its context. And even though the sociological nature of his approach often used to be stressed and praised, as far as the character of his work is concerned, this was a formal methodological catchphrase rather than a real analytical device.

The first call for change came from S. C. Littleton (1966), with his sketch of *anthropological reassessment* of IECM. But the first systematic effort to anthropologize the IECM can be considered the works of B. Lincoln (1981, 1986, 1991, 1999). As a postmodern Marxist he proposed to interpret myth as a political utterance of elites, by which they set social hierarchy determined by the existing economic base of society. An accent he put on political, economic and ecologic background of myth naturally led to reflections of social processes and their possible influence on the content of the myth.

> Ideally, one would like to study each /narrative/ variant not only in its relation to all other variants, but also with attention to the social and historic situation in which each variant made its appearance and found its reception, so that one could get a sense of how interplay between narrators and audiences produced narrative innovations, taxonomic modifications, and consequent shifts in the distribution of advantages over the course of time. To put it differently, our task is not finished until we have considered texts, contexts, intertexts, pretexts, subtexts, and consequences. (Lincoln 1999:150)

Another significant attempt was made by J. G. Oosten (1985). Unfortunately, his interpretative line fully copies the techniques of Levi-Strauss' schematizing structural analysis of myth.

Thus the by-goal of this work is to present a direct socio-anthropological approach to IE myth, to provide its pragmatic, context-focused, empirically oriented interpretation. The point is not to discover some predetermined philosophical construct hidden inside the text of the myth and typically detached from its original background – social as well as any other (romantic M. F. Müller). The point is not to explore the internal structure of the myth *per se* through the prism of variously designed structuralism with its rather formal interest in the social background of myth (C. Levi-Strauss, G. Dumézil). Instead, the point is to identify the mythological textual structure, which is a reflection of processes observed,

or reliably postulated to be more specific, in its social and historical background.

The book is divided into three main parts. The first chapter is devoted to theory; it introduces the basic terminology, more closely describes and argues for the chosen methodology, interpretative model as well as the criteria of the material's selection. Subsequent parts represent attempts to apply the suggested anthropological interpretation of IE mythological themes in practice. In the second chapter the issue of IE creation myth and in the third one the IE witch-hunting myth is discussed. Thus the last two parts of the work bring a very comparative analysis of original mythological texts followed by interpretation of their invariant textual structures according to the criteria and assumptions stated in the theoretical chapter.

The core of this work was composed as a dissertation thesis defended in summer 2016 at the Department of Linguistics and Baltic Languages of Masaryk University in Brno. I am grateful to my thesis supervisor Professor Václav Blažek as well as other colleagues for all the guidance and support. My thanks go to the thesis opponents, Professor Ivo Budil and Pavla Valčáková, and also to Zbyňek Holub, for their feedback helpful in the process of manuscript writing.

Theoretical Background

On the most general level, argumentation in this work is based on knowledge of the common genetic facility of mankind. Around 20,000 years ago in America, 40,000 years ago in Europe, 70,000 years ago in Asia and 200,000 years ago in Africa all the older evolutionary branches of genus Homo had stared to be eliminated by the species of anatomically modern human (AMH) (Dunbar 2004). For this reason all the world's populations of the last 20.000 years share common physical as well as mental facility.

The commonness of cognitive facilities of AMH is caused by the process of gene and cultural co-evolution of genus Homo. During its evolutionary process, successful non-biological, cultural responses to the challenges of environment – invented thanks to the gradually growing mental capacities – were transmitted to the next generations via directly or indirectly corresponding gene mutations. For this reason, basic mental facilities are genetically encoded, inherited and so universally shared within the population of AMH (Boyd & Richerson 1983, Boyd & Richerson 1987, Boyd & Richerson 2008).

The element of chance in conjunction with specific historical and ecological circumstances causes the selective and specific realization of genetically transmitted mental biases. Hence the local cultural traditions of human societies are prone to be formed with relative similarity on a general level though showing variability in details.

One such cultural area, partially unique due to the influence of local conditions and conventionally labeled Proto-Indo-European (PIE), was produced by the prehistoric population of Pontic-Caspian steppes circa in 5000 – 3000 BC. For the same reason, many archaic historical traditions of IE speaking groups can also be considered culturally unique.

Product par excellence of any culture is its folklore narrative tradition, especially myths, the set of narrations produced by elites. Therefore also in the mythological texts the occurrence of universally shared biases of AMH, influenced and modified by specific local (historical, ecological) conditions, can be expected. Of course, hypothetical PIE myths or myths of later historical IE traditions do not constitute an exception.

1 INDO-EUROPEANS: URHEIMAT AND FOLKGEIST ISSUE

The concept of the PIE cultural area is crucial for the existence of IECM. According to Antalík (2005), the comparison of any cultural phenomena of geographically (and hence culturally) secluded areas needs to be justified by an ontological platform, on which a comparativist is entitled to hypothesize that he *compares the comparable*. In the case of IECM the concept of PIE Urheimat forms such a justifying platform. It gives an IE mythologist a license to relate myths produced by IE speaking groups of different historical and geographical location, referring to their common prehistoric origin (Cigán 2009).

Therefore, from the methodological as well as ontological point of view, the axiom of prehistoric existence of PIE cultural-linguistic homeland still counts as a basic factor legitimizing the existence of IECM. It is not be refused as a racist myth, as Anthony correctly observed (Anthony 2007:89), nor as a manifestation of crypto-romantic sentiment (Cigán 2009). Quite the contrary, it can be supported by reliable scientific, for instance linguistic argumentation:

> The fact that so many languages of Europe and south-west Asia show widespread agreements in their grammatical structure and vocabulary can be explained ... only by the assumption that all spring from a common basic language, which we call Indo-European, and are all nothing other than independently developed variants of this original language, the Ursprache. (Szemerényi 1999:31)

Just this kind of linguistic argument alone seems to be generally sufficient. In prehistory, due to the specific conditions, the fact of language unity alone often meant the cultural homogeneity of a certain speech community. This assumption will be evaluated below, together with other factors of possible prehistoric

unification of PIE cultural area. So far the nature of supporting argumentation can be outlined by another Szemerényi remark: *...in earlier times society was itself much smaller, more united, and, owing to measures of central control, much more strongly cohesive than today, the language* (together with culture) *also was much more unified.* (Szemerényi 1999:29-30)

As for the Urheimat's geographic localization, in this book the concept of Pontic-Caspian steppes (Mallory 1989, Anthony & Ringe 2015) is held. Despite the emergence of competing approaches (Gamgrelidze & Ivanov 1995, Renfrew 1990, Bouckaert et al. 2012), multidisciplinary argumentation (Anthony & Ringe 2015) still makes the traditional Pontic-Caspian hypothesis the most valid and sustainable of all the solutions proposed so far.

Only one comment should be added to the everlasting controversy about the existence of PIE homeland as well as the possibility of diachronic transmission of its cultural patterns to historical times. Generally, existing cultural areas do not produce culturally encapsulated *worlds for themselves* in a strong Humboldtian sense. Local variations dwell only on the surface layers of otherwise universal cognition, as a product of a child´s enculturation to certain locally varied culture. Therefore, the existence of characteristic features of any cultural area is only temporal, limited to a certain segment of time and space. Their possible endurance fully depends on the stability of historical and ecological circumstances which participated in the process of their emergence. Only by their stability is ensured the continuity in the patterns of enculturation, leading to intergenerational transmission of more or less sound patterns of thinking and behavior.

This brings implications for a proper understanding of the concept of IE cultural identity. There are no intrinsic ways of its diachronic cultural transmission. As it was introduced in the previous paragraph, all the cultural uniqueness beyond biologically inherited universality of AMH is transmitted only through the external process of enculturation. There is nothing like "IE mentality" transmitted mystically via language, mythology, or "by blood".

Of course, by this anti-romantic turn is neither discredited the existence of unique cultural patterns of prehistoric area of PIE dialects, nor the possibility of their diachronic transmission to some historical group of some later IE dialect. Quite the contrary! There is only a need, instead of mentioned esoteric ideas of romanticism, to search for different sources and causes of this cultural exclusivity as well as its diachronic stability.

2 MYTH AND ITS ACADEMIC REFLECTION

Myth is above all the oral product of folklore narrative tradition. Even though the discipline of IECM studies myths mediated by literary texts, still for the myth this mode of existence is rather unnatural. Only secondary and occasionally, due to favorable conditions, oral myth is brought into written form.

It implies in the first place that the text of a myth is fully determined by its context. If it was originally uttered by a living man, poet participating in some folklore (i.e. variant, dynamically changing and commonly shared in contagious communication) narrative tradition, in certain social relations, within certain political and historical events, then all the context of myth´s composition and performance is a factor of cardinal importance for the constitution of the myth's text.

This knowledge was brought by social anthropologists (for instance A. Lang, R. Benedict, B. Malinovsky, R. H. Lowie etc.; Kanovský 2004; Littleton 1966, Paden 1988) and later folklorists, as they studied narrative folklore of living societies. Their fieldworks showed, that myth is closely related to the situation of its utterance, to ritual, to politics, to communal needs and events. *The context of an item of folklore is a specific social situation in which particular item is actually employed ... how, when, where, to whom, and by whom myth is uttered on a given specific occasion.* (Dundes 1980:23-24)

As many authorities of social sciences pointed out, it is essential to analyze the context of treated cultural phenomenon. Only the familiarity with its context gives the social scientist the chance to its proper understanding (Neusner 1966, Cigán 2009).

But this ideas penetrated rather insignificantly, if ever, to the field of IECM or continental European mythological studies in general. The pioneering IE mythologists of romanticism were criticized by Anglo-American anthropologists just for their context-neglecting approach to myth; an example is the attack of A. Lang on M. F. Müller (Littleton 1966:35). Unfortunately, many European mythologists

scarcely ever accepted this criticism. They studied myth as a text detached from its original context which allowed them to interpret it according to their own personal, philosophical or ideological preferences (S. Freud, C. G. Jung, M. Eliade, etc.; Lincoln 1999). To some extent, this kind of criticism was accepted in the aforementioned approach of C. Levi-Strauss, and among IE mythologists by G. Dumézil and especially by B. Lincoln.

Given the declared aim of this book, to demonstrate the socio-anthropological approach to the phenomenon of IE myth, my ambition is to eliminate the deficiencies still present when it comes to its context-focused interpretation.

However, the methodological imperative of context-focused approach could be easily questioned in this case. The discipline of IECM is still focused on myths created by people long since dead. Unlike the folklorist or social anthropologist, IE mythologist has no opportunity to observe the storytelling community in order to make a thick description of multidimensional contextual background of analyzed tale. Just as a certain historian once asked: *In the absence of fieldwork conducted via time machine, can we hope to understand barbarian anthropology?* (Kulikowski 2002:74)

I believe that there *is* a method to compensate for this disadvantage. Since there is no chance to observe the context of (pre)historical myth, the IE mythologist is obliged *to reconstruct* it. The point is to get a representation of features, conditions, structures and processes in the society which produced the analyzed myth, through the knowledge of disciplines independent of IECM; history, social anthropology, archeology, paleozoology, paleobotany, comparative historical linguistics etc.

The point is to create a model as real and complex as possible. Formal catchphrases and reductive schemas (for example as those proposed by structuralism) would be scarcely useful. On the other hand, there is no need – and it would not be even possible – to handle all the aspects of reconstructed society. A more detailed explanation of a few but important mechanisms is much more than brief descriptive overview of the society as a whole. In this regard the interest should be concentrated on the reconstruction of key structures, processes and potential events of communal social life. The subsequent section brings further argumentation for this kind of an approach; myth as a collectively and politically evaluated folklore product reflects especially this trans-individual, communal level of its contextual background.

Once the context is reconstructed, it can be used as an interpretative platform of analyzed mythological text. And even though the reconstructive modeling of the (pre)historical myth's context is hardly the same as its direct observance, still it is the only way to maintain the scientific line of its interpretation. As the findings of disciplines used for reconstruction are often independent of mythological research, are empirically based and/or they represent consensual outcomes of sci-

entific discussion, they form more or less objective (or towards reality converging) limits for subsequent interpretative efforts. This helps to minimize the danger of argumentation in circles (Jung´s or Dumézil´s myth interpreted by myth), constructing of ad hoc explanations or results infected by the interpreter´s personal attitudes.

Ultimately, such an indirect reconstruction of myth's social background appears to be, at least from a certain point of view and to some extent, even more exact than its modeling by means of fieldwork in a living community. It was a bitterly acquired knowledge of social anthropologists; interviewed informants, instead of their own opinions, tend to express rather the ideas they believe the researcher wants to hear (Baret & Dunbar & Lycett 2007:39). Thus, however strange it sounds, in this case some theoretically and methodologically positive consequences of time-space gap between the mythologist and object of his or her interest are present.

But there is also another reason which makes an effort for reconstruction of myth's context important for IECM. As it was pointed out, the discipline is based on a premise about the diachronic transmission of PIE mythological motives, themes as well as whole tales to historical IE traditions. Nevertheless, the notion of long-term diachronic stability of mythological texts as an inherent feature of myth *per se*, is a wish of romantic mythologists rather than obligatory folklore process (Cigán 2009).

According to D. Ben-Amos, any change in the context of folklore tradition generates synchronic and diachronic change of its text (Ben-Amos 1971). Therefore, one of the key features of any folklore tradition is dialectics of conservativeness and innovation. Folklore textual patterns are constantly reshaped according to actual needs of their audience.

Also Boyer (1990) considered the diachronic changes in traditional orally transmitted texts to be caused by diachronic changes in society; in its structure, processes and general character. In addition, as he further pointed out, there is always the naïve conviction of audience (let alone the observing outsider) about myth's textual antiquity, even when there is evidence of relatively recent textual changes in traditionally performed texts.

A similar inconvenient conclusion was brought by several researchers (Goody & Watt 1986, Ong 2002) in the case of narrative genealogies, i.e. the genre that represents the very flagship of all the romantic beliefs in the diachronic stability of myth. Dynastic genealogies or foundation myths of orally based cultures are constantly reshaped in accordance with the actual political situation. Broad masses, recipients of those changed narratives, however, are never aware of the process of their transformation.

Therefore, in any folklore tradition in every moment new "ancient" and "traditional" texts are produced. This is another reason, why the direct observance

of community may not be the best way to interpret the text it is producing. The question of real antiquity of treated folklore narratives can be properly answered only after the analysis of their contextual background, with emphasis on its diachronic development.

Methodological consequences of this knowledge for discipline of IECM are obvious; any assumption about diachronic stability of text has to be supported by analysis showing at least basic diachronic continuity of its social background. It is then the duty of the IE mythologist to reconstruct not only societies of historical IE groups, but also the society of PIE Urheimat. This step is a necessary condition of proper analysis and further interpretation of IE myths as well as assumptions about their possible origin in PIE folklore tradition (Cigán 2009).

2.1 Mind and Society behind the Myth

All seem to suggest that the main factor of myth's constitution is the social life in time and place of its emergence as well as further diachronic and synchronic persistence. The intimate relation between the myth and its society was stressed by many authorities during the history of mythological research. What had started as an idea of romantic philosophy (W. Humboldt, E. Cassirer) was later adopted, this time more or less free from political motivation, by French sociologists and structuralists or Anglo-American anthropologists. As Mary Douglas pointed out (1996/1970/:124) – to quote only one of the many examples of this interpretative attitude – *the choices people make about how they deal with one another are the real material which concerns the student of comparative religion*.

The social conditionality of myth seems to be confirmed also by contemporary anthropological approaches. According to B. Boyd (2009), myth is an evolutionary emerged tool, which evolved in order to support cooperative behavior, internal coherency and formation of group identity in human societies.

However, in addition to the social matters, another significant aspect of myth's constitution seems to be present. If myth arises in the process of social interaction, it is just the interaction of human minds. It implies, in addition to social, also the cognitive determinism of myth.

Also this mind-focused way of myth's interpretation has a long tradition; since the times of self-reflexive insight of phenomenology to contemporary empirically based neo-modern cognitive anthropology, with its ambition to study the relation between evolutionary determined cognition and culture. Hence the analysis of myth should take into account both individual and social cognition.

Of course, both aspects of myth's background are closely related. It is assumed that even the very evolutionary enlargement of AMH´s neocortex was caused primarily by the need for the development of social thinking (Barret &

Dunbar & Lycett 2007). Therefore, the human cognition is socially embodied in general, and reversal, human social life generally depends on inherited mental biases.

For this reason, myths seem to be shaped by cognitive processes on two levels; directly, internally, and indirectly, externally. By direct inner influence is meant the fact that the human mind forms an immediate environment of creation and transmission of myth. By indirect external influence is meant that cognitive processes determine the way AHM perceives and organizes his social environment, whereas this environment in turn shapes the body of myth. Cognitively determined myth is then reflecting the society, while the society itself is to a certain non-trivial extent, determined by the same cognition. Therefore, from the analytical point of view, myth is above all the matter of both social and cognitive processes or of their close mutual relation.

This fact brings both methodological and interpretative implications. Methodologically it evokes the need of theories, conceptions and tools of social and anthropological disciplines in order to perform a proper study of myth. In the field of interpretation it means that the question of the meaning of myth should be examined in connection with cognitive and social affairs of human existence.

Considering this traditional problem, the meaning of myth's existence, B. Boyd (2009) proposed a solution shaped exactly in this twofold socio-cognitive manner. He assumes the basic function of myth is to demonstrate model social situations in order to stimulate the development of human social skills and social cognition. And further, by rather wide operational area of myth due to its oral folklore existence it makes the treated models commonly known; thus, by myth the common norms of behavior are distributed among the population. In these two – cognitive as well as social – operational lines myth stimulates the cooperative behavior and social cohesion of human groups.

Note, however, that the demonstrations of norms need not to be always explicit. As Douglas pointed out, it is important to notice

> ...what is not said in each world view. Each theory has its hidden implications. These are its unspoken assumptions about the nature of ultimate reality. They are unspoken because they are taken for granted. There is no need to make them explicit because this is the common basis of experience. Such shared assumptions underlie any discourse... They are the foundations on which social reality is constituted... (1996/1970/:145)

It means that myth speaks even through its silence. In the light of this assumption, the claim to examine contextual background of myth is even more urgent. The only way of identifying its implicit contents is to relate it to its social background.

Mary Douglas (1996/1970/) proposed the complex model of relation between the society and its cosmology, including the official communal narratives, myths. According to her, in every society, there are two basic principles which determine dominating worldview. The first one she proposed to call *Group*; generally it is the intensity and weight of interpersonal relations, the feeling of being a member of community and significance of these factors for one's life. The second one is so called *Grid* and it refers to the complexity of cultural patterns and models of behavior as well as their significance for the life of an individual. Varying strength of both principles and their combinations produce certain sorts of society; its typical economy, cosmology, social tensions, attitudes towards human body, etc. Her theory then allows to predict the nature of narratives in certain social conditions or generally to examine the relation between social and narrative reality. For this reason, some of its ideas will be used in interpretative analysis of subsequent chapters, together with their more detailed explanation.

Nonetheless, the fact of myth's social embodiment can be supported also by knowledge (and self-critique) associated with postmodern approaches to the phenomenon of storytelling. As B. Lincoln (1999) pointed out, myth is far from being only a passive reflection of social reality. As any human utterance, it is biased, manipulative and ideological entity, which mainly reflects the interests and intentions of its creator. Accordingly, demonstration of social norms and hierarchies, by which the narrator of myth and his audience are identified, is one of the typical aspects of storytelling.

Especially in the case of IE myths this postmodern point of view should be borne in mind. Their existence is inherently linked with society ruling elites, which is the environment primarily and naturally focused on issues of power and politics. A significant portion of IE myths are products of politically engaged poets, who performed their texts in the center (or on the pike) of social life, in the role of ideologists and propagandists of their rulers. As such, the traditional poets participated in the creation and objectification of social norms and cultural constructs. It indicates that their texts are inevitably linked with the existing authorities, established hierarchies and current social mechanisms (Cigán 2010).

It can be summarized then, that myth neither contains some mystic knowledge of our "noble" and "national" ancestors, nor is allegoric personified interpretation of natural phenomena or manifestation of some inner *sui generis* structural patterns. Just the contrary, it is rather a reflection – even though not always conscious, explicit or unbiased – of structures, patterns and processes of human social life.

2.2 From Singing to Writing

As pointed out above, the discipline of IECM examines archaic myths of supposed preliterary oral folklore origin mediated by later literary traditions. However, literature and oral folklore are different modes of communication. And moreover, their exchange – most often the general replacement of oral tradition by literature – was usually related to the process of complex cultural change. This implies possible transformations of the texts which had successfully penetrated the boundary between both media. New spokesmen of elites, the emerging men of letters were often deeply engaged in political and economic aspects of an ongoing process. Their confrontation with obsolete oral texts took the wide range of possible forms, with positive as well as negative attitudes towards the old tradition. It would be naïve to imagine them as objective scholars who tend to record original mythological texts.

In the following lines are briefly sketched the possible consequences of this cultural change in respect to IECM studies.

2.2.1 Interferences and Discontinuities

Oral folklore is, just as literature, a tale transmitting medium. The very phenomenon of narration is probably one of the points out of which emerge certain interferences between both media.

One of these interferences is perhaps the converging view people usually hold on both media. The audience as well as the expedients of narrations, written as well as spoken, often used to perceive them as being the two aspects of the same phenomenon. This kind of naïve approach was present also in early scientific attempts to model the relation between literature and oral tradition. There were established terminological distinctions like *artificial literature* vs. *traditional literature* (Mathesius 1982:242) or *written literature* vs. *oral literature* (Chadwick & Chadwick 1932-1940).

However, several objections can be raised against such a view. According to Ong (2002:12-13), the term *oral literature* is rather an inappropriate concept; it is like an attempt to use a collocation *vehicle with legs* in order to describe and explain the horse to a member of an industrial society who has never seen it. Instead of being two sides of the same coin, literary and oral tradition rather represent two different types of economical communication (barter vs. currency), i.e. two different phenomena.

Yet certain interferences still remain. Both media are connected with ruling elites, being the channels of transmission and operation of stories in their ideological services. Thus, provided there is some measure of cultural continu-

ity, despite the media change still it is likely that old texts will be useful in new conditions.

Generally, for any archaic literature it was quite difficult to prevent the infiltration of older folklore textual structures. Still being the recent (even though currently and inevitably perishing) tool of communication and storing the knowledge, the oral tradition was the only source of ideas that mattered at that time. And even if it was necessary to invent or accept the new views, instead of creating the new forms for their communication, more efficient was their incorporation into the old ones. Eventually the social significance of older folklore structures was strengthened by the fact, that events discussed by high narrative genres of elites, as mythos or epos, were seen as the real historical facts. For this reason even the innovative community tended to use them as a base for composing their new narrations.

Contamination of archaic literature by folklore textual structures occurred even when men of letters strived to prevent it. An example of this kind of vain attempt is the work of Herodotus. His aim was to compose *historia*, i.e. the narration reflecting real historical events, instead of unreal stories of myth. However, in spite of his effort there is much contemporary oral folklore in his work, especially realistic heroic and foundation legends. In those days even the scholar was often unable to differentiate, whether the informant's story is a real event or folklore fiction. For a member of ancient society, where positivistic thinking, scientific critics or complex system of common education were unknown, it was not always easy to assess properly the border between the real and the unreal. Particularly in the cases, when the story did not contain obviously supernatural elements, which eventually an early skeptic could notice about the fictive nature of narration. Due to the aforementioned fact, that many genres of oral folklore were considered a historical reality in general, probability of confusion only increased.

Therefore, any archaic literary tradition is more or less influenced by contemporary oral folklore. In the case of mythological literature, the mission of which is to replace older elite genres of oral folklore or to store and save them before they fade away, naturally the influence of preceding texts can be even more significant, than in historically intended pieces.

On the most general level, the possibility of long-term diachronic stability of prehistoric traditional texts, eventually leading to their conservation in early literature, is strengthened by the relative stability of basic contextual conditions. It can be stated, with a certain measure of generalization that since the prehistoric time of the *Neolithic revolution* till the ancient or even medieval historical period, the social, economic and technological conditions in non-literal societies changed very little. Wood and beasts of burden were the basic sources of energy, wheel and metallurgy represented the most advanced technological inventions, farming and herding the basic sources of food. Options of distant, trans-local communication

(transport, migration, information exchange) were limited. All the knowledge was synchronically as well as diachronically communicated by means of oral tradition; without the presence of external storing memory device of literature, any quantitative and qualitative change of thinking and knowledge was inhibited.

Thus, as far as all the possible historical changes occur and operate within the basic set of these post-Neolithic conditions, there is a certain non-trivial amount of basic probability, that prehistoric orally transmitted texts will find their way, at least to some extent, to the official literatures of historical periods.

On the other hand, divergence of both communication modes should not be underestimated. The literary turn in society was not only the technical change in the way of processing and communicating the information. Often it was caused by wider and deeper cultural change, either due to external influences or as a result of internal development – and most often by interaction of both aspects. Regardless of origin of this innovation, it could trigger positive as well as negative attitudes towards the older oral tradition. In historical Europe the combination of external and internal factors led to the adoption of foreign post-Roman Latin-Christian literary tradition by formerly heathen societies, i.e. groups formerly based on their orally transmitted traditions. In Iran during the reign of Sassanids (or perhaps earlier?) or in India at the end of Vedic period, however, the genuine orally transmitted tradition was registered in literary form in response to more or less internal social development.

Moreover, the media change is not only the outcome or byproduct of social change. The very rise of literacy often triggers the further transformation of society. In particular, it results in marginalization and later complete extinction of specialists of oral tradition. Traditional poets are forced to retreat from their prestigious positions to the social periphery. The exchange of their audience, from elites to plebeians, creates an inevitable pressure on the texts of their songs; singers are to adjust their tales according to needs of their new listeners (Karbusický 1995).

It implies that even the oral tradition itself, due to its confrontation with new medium, often undergoes dynamic transformation. Sooner or later some of its texts fade away, others are transformed and only the originally peripheral genres such as demotic folktales, proverbs, or jokes eventually survive in their more or less original form. This kind of development is present especially when media change is connected with complex cultural change accompanied by conscious rejection of the original cultural tradition (for instance medieval Europe denying its heathen roots systematically). Literary records of folklore tradition then may mediate the oral texts deformed recently and just by the same processes through which this literary mediation was allowed.

Nonetheless, there are many other specific factors, by which the process of literary adoption of folklore texts is determined. One of them is the very nature of relation between folklore muster and its literary reflection. In some cases the

orally transmitted texts seems to be textually codified already during their folklore existence. This was perhaps the case of shorter ritual texts or generally religious texts produced by highly organized specialists of religious tradition. But this moment should not be exaggerated. As Ong (2002) reminded, an example of Vedic texts often cited in this regard should be rather considered in connection with self-confirmative attitude typical for any religious tradition. Note that before the literarization of a certain culture there exists no textual muster to provide (let alone the lack of possibility to prove) the fact of a truly verbatim trans-generational repetition of oral texts.

Any folklore tradition naturally tends to be textually varied. Any of its narrative takes many different shapes, i.e. variants, whereas all of them are, in addition, constantly changing form performance to performance. This natural state of affairs is preserved especially when folklore tradition is produced by less formally organized narrative specialists and/or it consists of texts which are not of an explicit religious nature. Literary output then usually records only one of many available variants of one narrative (for instance mythos and epos of northern Germanic eddaic tradition).

Yet another possibility is that even though the literary myth is by its form and content related to the older oral tradition, there is rather vague and indirect connection between them. Often the text is only inspired by – or it is a compilation of – traditional motives, themes and narrative variants, but hardly represents a reflection of certain traditional tale (for instance Bēowulf epos).

Therefore, the scholars' personal attitude and motivation was of the essence. By the specific features of local historical and cultural background, especially its relation to the ongoing cultural change, is determined the motivation of men of letters to record the products of former narrative tradition. Their mindset naturally shape the way they are handling its texts. Literary conservation may be realized in order to use the old narratives with more or less unchanged social function (for instance Avestan or Vedic tradition). On the other hand, written record may be rather a byproduct of literary zeal otherwise indifferent (north of medieval Europe), or even hostile, to the older oral narratives in general (rest of medieval Europe).

However, there also exists significant technically based divergence of both media; immediate vs. mediate interaction with audience, variability vs. stability of transmitted text, improvised real-time composing vs. long-term writing, limitation of human memory vs. relative unlimited memory capacity of external medium (*book is a sort of R.O.M. chip we can plug into our heads*; Turner & Pöppel 1983:6), use of metered poetry vs. inclination towards non-versified prose etc.

Apart from the mentioned social and ideological changes in society, it is possible that only these shifts of technical nature alone may initiate textual transformations in transmitted narratives. For example, Turner and Pöppel argued (1983),

that a human being exposed to listen to versified poetic speech is neurologically stimulated for pro-social, holistic and open-minded thinking. If this bold suggestion is accepted – though reservations remain – to the portfolio of divergences should be added the change of general worldview, necessarily producing the different narrations before and after the literarization.

In any case, one of the most serious causes of potential textual transformations still should be seen in the aforementioned socio-contextual changes. For example, countless times in antique and medieval Europe as well as in Asia, the foundation and progress of cities and rise of their bourgeoisie was a well-known challenge for the traditional cultural system with its chiefs and kings, feasting and fighting elites and oppressed farming and herding commons.

All of those above mentioned factors and processes should be taken into account, as they are responsible for potential conservative stabilization as well as innovative transformation of traditional texts, not only during the process of their absorption by literary medium but also in their further literary transmission.

For all these reasons, the discipline of IECM is obliged to evaluate the mechanism of textual transmission in a particular medium as well as development of media change itself, its features, specifics, background circumstances etc. Only then it is possible to decide, to what extent the examined historical literary myth eventually reflects the textual muster of archaic preliterary and prehistoric tradition or even the original PIE tradition itself.

3 TERMINOLOGY

In this section are presented further theoretical conceptions with emphasis on their key technical terms. The postulated terminology takes into account the aforementioned fact, that myths examined by IECM generally are the literary preservations of texts produced by folklore narrative tradition. For this reason mainly the folkloristic and socio-anthropological moments discussed above are contemplated.

a. *folklore*: process of contagious communication of variant and commonly shared information (Ben–Amos 1971)
b. *tradition*: process of intergenerational transmission of psychologically salient and socially interacted information (Boyer 1990)
c. *narration*: complex structured information presented by means of any media; painted, written, spoken etc.
d. *narrative*: complex structured information preformed orally during the formalized storytelling occasion
e. *motif*: *ad hoc* and *ex post* chosen segment of the story organized around a character, item, event, action etc. (for instance *hero throws his weapon into waters*)
f. *theme*: *ad hoc* and *ex post* chosen chain of mutually related motives forming a semantic unit (for instance *hero´s supernatural death*)
g. *sujet*: linearly structured chain of motives or themes of narration
h. *myth:* traditional narration of elites
i. *mythos:* myth focused on acts of supernatural agents, primarily concerning the themes of cosmology and ontology, origin and meaning of physical and social reality etc.

j. *epos*: myth focused on acts of human agents, primary concerning themes of power and politics as well as martial and military matters

3.1 Text, Texture and Context

In this work the creatively modified analytical conception of text, texture and context is used. It was developed by A. Dundes (1980) in order to define and analyze any folklore genre.

a. *text*: an information transmitted by folklore item; in the case of oral folklore the information content of utterance (the story of tale, the content of spoken proverb etc.)
b. *texture*: a form of folklore item; in the case of oral folklore language of utterance, its specific linguistic features and tools (poetic figures, meter, stress, pitch, tone etc.)
c. *context*: the specific situation in which folklore item is actually employed; in the case of oral folklore it is the characteristics of performer, audience, circumstances of utterance
d. *function*: statement of analyst about the purpose of the existence of a given folklore item

For the reasons mentioned above, analytical emphasis is placed on the area of context, since it fundamentally determines not only the text (and to some extent texture) of narration but also, as Dundes pointed out (1980:23-24), consideration of its social function.

Due to the philological nature of IECM, I decided to divide Dundes´ category of text in order to avoid collision of its meaning (text: content of narration) with possible philological connotations (text: literary transmitted information). While in the first case the original form *text* is preserved, denoting the information content of narrative, the latter is labeled as *literary text*.

In order to take into consideration both the situational as well as textual background of myth, a further subdivision of category of context is made in the following manner:

a. *context of situation*: social and historical setting in which certain narration is enacted
b. *context of sujet*: set of textual segments, especially motives and themes of sujet, in which a certain textual segment is enacted

c. *context of tradition*: set of textual segments, especially motives, themes or whole sujets, of certain tradition, in which a certain textual segment is enacted

For comprehensive reflection of all the aspects of myth´s complex context the subdivision is introduced in the category of *context of situation* by means of a three-segmented *contextual analytical axis*. It is inspired by the concept of macro-, mezzo- and micro-segment of A. Sørensen (2011).

a. *micro-context* – unique situational and personal background of storytelling occasion; specific personality and social relationships of narrator, specific characteristics of audience and storytelling occasion etc.
b. *mezzo-context* – general social background of storytelling tradition; universal or general social and cognitive processes: hierarchies and relations in society, mechanism of resource distribution etc.
c. *macro-context* – arbitrary ecological and historical background of storytelling tradition; local natural conditions, military conflicts, migrations, exchange of ruling dynasties etc.

Factors, by which is affected the context of situation are of two basic types and overall it can be called *ontological analytical axis*.

a. *genetic impact* – genetic predestination of physical and mental features of AMH, which are manifested by statistically observable tendencies of its individual and collective behavior
b. *historical impact* – arbitrary historical and ecological stimuli, by which are modified genetically predestined features of AMH

Both analytical axes are intertwined, addressing the same problem from different viewpoints. By the contextual one the attention is drawn to different levels of situational impact on analyzed text. By the ontological one is underlined the fact, that all those three contextual levels, and thus also their texts, are affected by two fundamentally different kinds of stimuli. To put it differently, both aspects of the ontological axis affect all the three segments of contextual axis. However, macro-context is related mostly to the category of historical impact, whereas mezzo-context is more or less governed by inherited genetics and its local realizations.

Parallel maintenance of both analytical viewpoints helps to overcome the above-mentioned methodological clash of cultural universality and cultural exclusivity. Are the events and processes responsible for constitution of certain myth determined by universal biology of AMH or are they rather a product of local cultural

and historical development? Do they occur universally, in every human society, or do they seem to represent an exclusive property of single and time-space limited culture? Or more precisely; to what extent and which of the layers or segments of certain culture can be considered culturally exclusive? And conversely, for which aspect of analyzed myths it is necessary to admit its universal occurrence?

Questions of this kind, necessitating the paralleled maintenance of both viewpoints, arise especially in the field of IECM. Here it is typically assumed the cultural exclusivity of the examined matter. And just this assumption is most often and most seriously questioned by critics of IECM. They often point out, that many motives and themes treated in IECM are observed also in non-IE cultural traditions. It implies, according to their opinion, that there should exist nothing like a distinct field of IE mythology.

However, it is just this approach of two viewpoints, by which this kind of critique can be inhibited. It allows the IE mythologist to identify culturally endemic as well as culturally universal textual parts or layers of analyzed myth. And more, it allows him or her to make suggestions about the causes of this segmentation.

All the outlined above implies that analysis and further interpretation of IE myth should emphasize mezzo-context with serious concern to related macro-context. Text of myth should be examined in terms of possible relationship to universally distributed cognitive biases of AMH and related basic social structures and processes /mezzo-context/, often appearing cross-culturally. At the same time it is necessary to consider the fact that the final forms of all these processes, although rooted in the universality of AMH, are shaped by endemic historical and ecological factors /macro-context/ and therefore they potentially converge to cultural uniqueness. In addition, because the discipline of IECM deals with texts produced by elites, the reconstruction and further analysis of mezzo- and macro-contextual background of myth should be oriented just on the elite segment of society.

If the information about micro-context is at hand, naturally it is appropriate to use it. Nonetheless, this kind of data is rarely available and moreover, to some extent it seems to be analytically redundant. Dealing with politically selected and literary institutionalized myths of narrators and audiences long since dead naturally reduces the importance of this factor for the analysis of (P)IE myth.

The essential principles of folklore communication as well as process of its literarization discussed above, with related terms of proposed terminology, summarize the scheme in Figure 1.

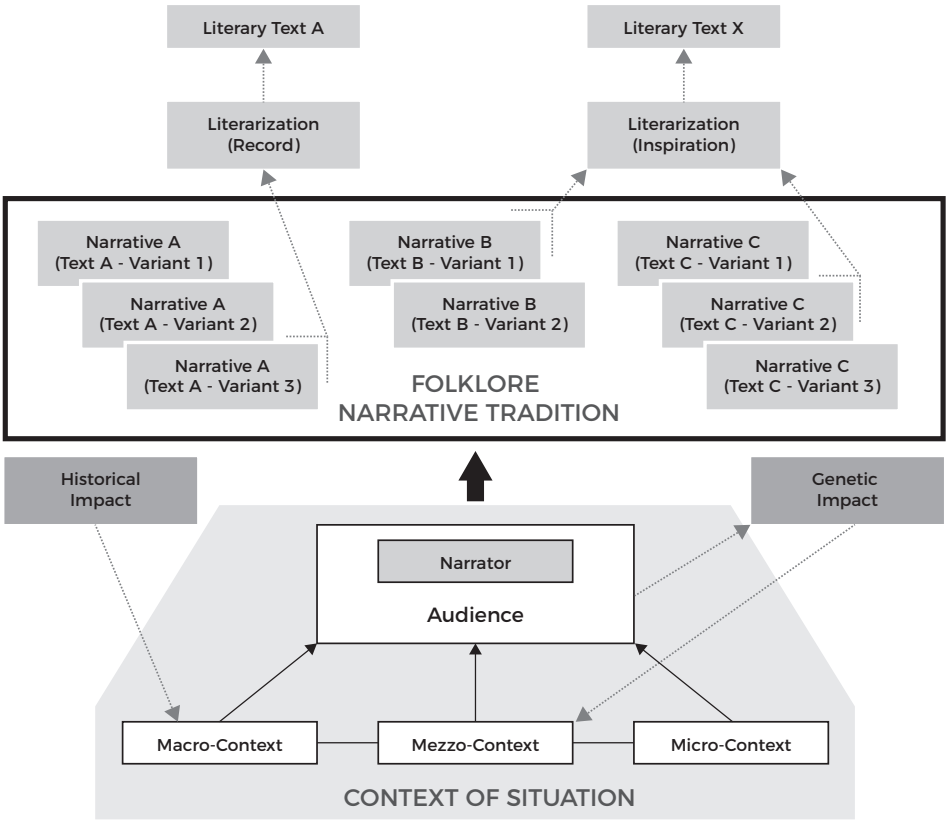

Literary Text A
Literary Text X
Literarization (Record)
Literarization (Inspiration)
Narrative A (Text A - Variant 1)
Narrative A (Text A - Variant 2)
Narrative A (Text A - Variant 3)
Narrative B (Text B - Variant 1)
Narrative B (Text B - Variant 2)
Narrative C (Text C - Variant 1)
Narrative C (Text C - Variant 2)
Narrative C (Text C - Variant 3)
FOLKLORE NARRATIVE TRADITION
Historical Impact
Genetic Impact
Narrator
Audience
Macro-Context
Mezzo-Context
Micro-Context
CONTEXT OF SITUATION

Figure 1

4 METHODOLOGY

For the discipline of IECM suggestions proposed by W. E. Paden (1988) seem to be methodologically useful. In comparative cross-cultural studies, he recommended applying the dialectics of *local meaning* (meaning-for-insider) and *generalizing meaning* (meaning-for-comparativist) of the analyzed phenomenon. O. Sládek, evaluating Paden´s concept (2002), suggests the term *intracultural* for the first and *intercultural* for the letter. According to Paden, comparative work should start with observation and interpretation of analyzed phenomenon within its local context. Only secondarily can it be compared with locally observed and interpreted phenomena of other cultural traditions in order to propose its generalizing comparative interpretation.

As noted above, one can question the competence of the anthropologist to enter the mind of the informant in order to interpret the way he or she, as an insider, truly perceives his own culture. However, Paden´s methodology, when creatively upgraded and deprived of so unrealistic an expectation, can form a solid methodological ground for IECM. The discipline is intercultural by its nature; compared are myths of different periods and locations. In fact, there is nothing like "IE culture".

At first, there is the need to analyze and interpret every mythological text of the chosen comparative set intraculturally, within the specific conditions of its time and place. If the texts are proven to be interpretatively compatible, i.e. they really seem to speak more or less the same, they can be compared mutually, interculturally. This two-step examination is required especially in the cases of subtle comparative situations, when a comparative set consists only of a few texts. On the contrary, its necessity declines when the rich portfolio of texts is available.

The philological work with original text and its further interpretation reflecting three types of context (situation, sujet and tradition) and two analytical axes (contextual /macro-, mezzo-, micro-/ and ontological /history, genetics/) forms the core of intracultural phase of comparison.

The point of second, intercultural comparative step is to abstract and interpolate PIE textual muster out of comparative set of texts and suggest its interpretation related to its reconstructed (P)IE context. In this phase there is also a place for etymological analysis.

5 SELECTED TEXTS

The practical examination of mythological material starts in the following second chapter dedicated to the topic of primordial sociogony. It is an opportunity to interpret origin and the general structure of (P)IE society as well as to hypothesize diachronic development of its mythological reflection. As an opening part of the analysis it is oriented rather on basic structures of social reality and their (pre) historical formation.

Sketch of the basic context of situation in second chapter forms the necessary background for more narrow focused examinations of another socially embodied mythological theme, a witch-hunting myth, analyzed in the third chapter. Here the narratives on war between elites and witch-queen´s outsiders, as mythological reflections of inter-group relations and tensions, are discussed. Correspondingly, this part focuses on gender themes and affairs of social dominance.

Both mythological topics are chosen with respect to their supposed context of situation. Their texts seem to represent ideal examples of folklore texts reflecting certain aspects of their social reality. Their order of appearance is arranged to demonstrate a methodological move from the problematic of macro-context and cultural exclusivity to mezzo-context and cultural generality or universality, and from myths reflecting the existence of basic social structures of community as a whole to myths dealing rather with mutual relation of these structures.

Analysis and Interpretation

1 RITUAL AGAINST THE BROTHER

In this chapter the well-known IE mythological theme, the concept of hierarchal society and its creation out of the body of primordial humanoid being, will be discussed. Its most famous interpretation was brought by G. Dumézil, who theorised it as a narrative model both mirroring and providing the social manifestation of three-functional IE ideology. Another influential view proposed B. Lincoln (1981:87, 1991:32), interpreting it as a narrative on world-creating sacrifice of a primordial king performed by a primordial priest, both mirroring and providing the dualistic priest-king power management of PIE society. Based on an analysis of its supposed mezzo- and most of all macro-contextual background I will try to propose an alternative interpretation. Though it diverges from both traditional approaches, it is not entirely inconsistent with them.

As for possible mezzo-contextual connections, in chapter's opening sections the socio-anthropological theory of the so-called Big Man System and Chiefdom and their relevance for PIE communities as well as later historical IE societies will be examined. Both are evaluated in relation to the idea of Gens, model of a pre-feudal social organisation developed by modern historians. I believe that these originally unrelated teachings of anthropology and historical science can be combined in order to propose sustainable reconstruction of basic structures of (P)IE society.

On the level of macro-context certain historical events unique for the area of supposed PIE homeland will be considered. Mainly it is the contact of two fundamentally different economic systems, which occurred on the western border of the Pontic-Caspian steppes during the 6th millennium BC. According to D. Anthony's (2007) interpretation based on archaeological evidence, semi-nomadic Pre-Proto-Indo-European (PPIE) groups of steppe hunter-gatherers faced the arrival of settled farmers of Afro-Asian (AA) origin. Inspired by the behaviour of the

newcomers, the hunters adapted over the next centuries the technique of stock-breeding. However, through many generations they kept the livestock especially for sacral and ritual purposes.

My aim is to refer to the striking similarities between this prehistoric adaptive process and specific social movements documented among the native populations of South Pacific Ocean in the industrial era, the so-called Cargo Cults. Typically they emerged in rudimentary societies, which were abruptly forced to face the presence of advanced cultural systems. "Primitives" used to respond with special ritual and narrative activity, traditionally interpreted as semi-religious adoration of cultural traits of the superior system, especially its material culture (hence the name Cargo Cult). Finding similarities between the reality of Cargo Cults and prehistoric events connected with forming of the PIE cultural and linguistic area, I will try to interpret the aforementioned IE creation myth as a possible outcome of original PPIE narrative Cargo Cult patterns.

In order to demonstrate the supposed Cargo Cult aspects in Anthony's archaeological interpretation of PIE homeland issue, in sections dedicated to macro-contextual analysis I will briefly introduce both Anthony's interpretation and the phenomenon of modern Cargo Cults. In the end, outcomes of macro-contextual and mezzo-contextual considerations will be combined to sketch the hypothetical diachronic textual transformations of IE creation myth.

1.1 Mezzo-context: Big Man System and Chiefdom

Some anthropologists hinted that medieval European societies (Douglas 1996 /1970/), or historical IE groups in general (Budil 2001), were organised along the principles of the *Big Man System*.

> The Big Men live in a world of noble pacts, hard bargains, dastardly betrayals and revenges. Apart from the exotic cases given, there are examples nearer home. Our ancient Anglo-Saxon vengeance and inheritance laws defined a set of responsible kin radiating from each particular individual. The Norse sagas expressed a corresponding world view. (Douglas 1996 /1970/:66)

Budil suggested (2001) that social organisation of ancient IE societies – with their elites hungering for socially shared glory and booty – had much in common with principles of the Big Man System.

> The Big Man system was examined by Philip Gulliver in Tanzania, D. L. Oliver on the Solomon Islands, Kenelm Burridge and Mervyn J. Meggitt on New Guiney; further it was described in classical anthropological studies in Melanesia, Indonesia, in the

> Philippines and among Indian tribes of southern California. According to research of historical linguistics, a similar character appeared also in the ancient and early medieval societies, like ancient Celts, Germans, Greeks, Italians, Aryans, Persians and many others, which descended as distinct branches from the hypothetical Indo-European cultural domain. (Budil 2001:30)

Alongside these insightful but brief remarks, few studies indicate the operation of the Big Man principles in historical IE societies explicitly and in a more detailed way. One of the most important seems to be the piece of Van Der Vliet (1986) focused on the case of ancient Greece.

> Political leadership in ancient Greece was marked by a number of features which seem to be more characteristic for 'Big-man' systems than of rule in early states or even in chiefdoms. Leadership never went unchallenged and to a high degree it was dependent on the extent to which the leader was able to keep the support of his followers and fellow-citizens. His position as a leader rested on his achievement and his personality. It did not result automatically from birth or from an ascribed position as a lineage leader or something comparable. Although the nobility of his descent played a role as a starting-point of his career, it was not a decisive factor. (Van Der Vliet 1986:117)

The concept of the Big Man System itself was introduced to the twelfth century's socio-anthropological discourse by American anthropologist Marshall Sahlins (1963). He theorised it as a social system based on patron-client relations; distributing the resources in exchange for complex support, initiative individuals (Big Men) build a network of their followers (clients). There is a permanent competition among patrons for loyalty of all the potential clients; besides charm of personality, gift of speech, physical strength and martial skills the key attribute of a competent Big Man is his generosity – the ability to provide goods to his followers.

> 'Big Man' imposes himself as leader, ... it is a purely personal achievement. His power rests only in the consent of his followers. But the more numerous they are, the greater his prestige and power... Everyone else depends on the Big Man for their livelihood and security. He creates the political and ritual framework in which ordinary men can work out their cycles, patterns of reciprocal exchanges in grander and grander patterns. His glory enhances the lustre of theirs. He creates large-scale local alliances, controls violence, settles disputes. He does it all by generosity, hard work, skilful manipulation of the rules of feast-giving and compensation. (Douglas 1996 /1970/:129)

The principles of the Big Man System usually form a dynamic, individualistic and success-focused society, characterised by a narrow group of strain elites jealously competing for favour of broad mass of clients (Douglas 1996 /1970/). The

members of such a society adopt *a pragmatic world view; sin is less understood than shame for loss of personal honour, face or solvency.* (Douglas 1996 /1970/:67)

Observing the traditional southern pacific societies, Sahlins composed his concept of Melanesian Big Man System (1963) as an opposition to *Chiefdom*, putatively the different type of social organisation typical for Polynesia. According to Sahlins, the achieved power based on Big Man's personal activity is substituted there for an ascribed power of Chief, most often inherited along traditional dynastical lines.

However, it was proved by further research (Van Bakel & Hagestejin & Van Der Velde 1986) that instead of being two different modes of power management, they are rather symbiotic principles occurring simultaneously in the majority of traditional elementary organised societies.

The Big Man principles naturally create unequal, hierarchal social relations. For although all are theoretically equal in their opportunities to improve their social status, and thus emerged social stratification is temporal in its principle, limited to the productive age of the current Big Man, under certain conditions the probability of its trans-generational stability increases, tending to Chiefdom organisation.

One of the factors is the size of population in proportion to the availability of resources. According to Van Der Vliet (1986) the rarer are the resources or the fewer people are available, the more significant is the operation of Chiefdom principles. And vice versa, the more cumulative (theoretically unlimited) resources are available, the more likely is the emergence of the Big Man System principles producing their typical social dynamism. Thus, a balance between abundance and lack of resources may make the Big Man society moderate in its "success obsession" and so diachronically stable.

Another moment is the obvious advantage of individuals related to the actually ruling Big Man. Comparing to the rest of the population, his close clients and relatives, i.e. elite, have considerably better access to know-how as well as resources to establish their future social rise.

And not the least, close clients of current Big Man are advantaged due to essentialist thinking, common and innate for AMH. According to research of contemporary anthropologists (Gelman 2003, Kanovský 2007, Toosi & Ambady 2011 etc.), people innately believe that almost any entity, no matter if material or cultural (item, plant, animal, or social group), contains some kind of essence; a non-material substance, which encodes all its basic nature, determines and controls its features or behaviour and under certain conditions can be transmitted to another entity. A fair example of psychological essentialism is the belief in items charged with special power (the spear of Longinus, the bone of Buddha, etc) or belief that all the members of a certain social group inherently share common traits (French are romantic, priests are cunning, etc.). In this case the demonstration can be the common belief that an individual coming from an elite environment is naturally

suitable, "predestined", due to his "high-born" inner essence, for a future elite career.

The stratified character of the Big Man System communities was an aspect emphasized also by Douglas (1996 /1970/). She even claimed to consider the patrons and their clients the distinct types of society with different worldviews. The members of elite adopt *the extremely pragmatic, unspeculative and materialist belief system* (Douglas 1996 /1970/:143) framed within the *grid* of strong non-personal principles. Commoners, on the other hand, are often pushed to the periphery of success-obsessed Big Man System society. As a consequence they are often dominated by the feelings of rootlessness, vulnerability as well as oppression by their distant rulers and non-human principles these rulers adore; they show *tendency, alternately repressed and breaking out, to millennialism* (Douglas 1996 /1970/:143).

The existence of this kind of disintegrated Big Man System's commoners directly in ancient IE speaking world is documented in Firdausī's Šāhnāme (3rd. class of King Džamšīd's social reform) or in Caesar's De Bello Gallico, being depicted as considerbaly opressed by ruling priests and warriors:

> In omni Gallia eorum hominum, qui aliquo sunt numero atque honore, genera sunt duo. Nam plebes paene servorum habetur loco, quae nihil audet per se, nullo adhibetur consilio. Plerique cum aut aere alieno aut magnitudine tributorum aut iniuria potentiorum premuntur, sese in servitutem dicant. Nobilibus in hos eadem omnia sunt iura quae dominis in servos.
>
> In all the Gaul there are two classes of men who are in any rank and honor at all, for the masses /*plebes*, the commoners/ are held almost in place of servants, dare nothing by themselves, and are not admitted into public deliberations. The majority of them, pressed down by debt, large taxes, or the injustice of those more powerful, give themselves up in servitude to the nobles, who exercise over them the same rights as lords over servants. (6.13; Lincoln 1981:137)

1.1.1 Historical manifestation: Gens

Studies of historians (Wenskus 1961, Wolfram 1995, Urbańczyk 2000, Homza 2002 etc.) suggest, that historical IE groups used to organise themselves in the hierarchal political units, so-called *Gentes*.

Gens is an entity of group identity; hierarchal and political rather than egalitarian and biological in its nature. It is assumed, that its core is formed by the military elite, a war band, i.e. the professional warriors assembled by a leader. This elite, relatively few in number, controls the mass of commoners, the people, military or politically unspecialised rest of the Gens population performing

everyday economical activities. The elite is supposed to protect the commoners military and legally, while commoners are obliged to support their elite materially.

> A war band is that well-nourished, well dressed and well-armed part of the gens, which provides its protection from another well nourished, well dressed and well-armed elite of another gens, whilst never forgetting to charge its own people a fee for peace (tributum pacis, protection money) or to organise booty-raids on the neighbours. (Homza 2002:246)

While the group identity of commoners is rather conservative, based on biological and ethnic principles (dialect affiliation), identity of a war band is more "artificial", multi-ethnic, based on professional gild principles, rituals and abstract symbols; above all the name of the group and the person of the leader. For this reason the mutual relationship between commoners and elite is rather loose in its nature and so can vary. The core of a war band can be as formed by the cream of local population as it can be represented by the group of alien invaders.

> Original ethnicity or more precisely the language affiliation of such a small community [the war band] was not always the most important factor ... what mattered was the ability ... to transfer its identity – the name – to a broader population of certain geographic area. ... Military achievements (either in aggressions or in defensive wars) of the leader and his war band during the first generation are an important factor of integration. (Homza 2002:244)

> In any case, integration [of gens] is a form of violence committed by professional warriors against the rest of the population. ... It is a way of redefinition of any older forms of social organisation. The population (or its part at least) usually identifies itself with the new elite, adopting its name. (Homza 2002:245)

In order to confirm the delicate political identity of the war band, not to mention of the whole Gens, with its two social ranks of rather opposed nature and attitudes, patronage of Gens hires narrative specialists, *poets with sword on their backs* (Homza 2002:245). Their mission is to verbalise and ideologize the military and political prestige of the leader and its war band and strengthen their role of the common symbols of the Gens' unity.

The concept of Gens emerged at the verge of postmodernity as an attempt to theorize the identity of historical "barbarian" groups in a new way. Its proponents assumed, that through many generations the identity of these "tribes" was transmitted via *Traditionskerne* (Wenskus 1961), the nuclei of tradition. By this term was meant the leading dynasty, often supported by a narrow group of military elite, which bore its name or the name of the dynasty itself. Again and again, at various

times and space locations, these elite groups were able to organise the differnet local population to the hierarchal body of Gens under their own identity markers.

Many ideas of this so-called *ethnogenesis theory* were the object of criticism (Goffart 2002, Murray 2002, Kulikowski 2002). In fact, reading historical records without prejudices, it is hard to argue for the existence of Traditionskerne. Migration myths and genealogical tales of barbarian elites were often written decades or centuries after the extinction of their supposed producers, and what is more, by classic scholars with naturally limited ability to assess the matters of barbarian anthropology. And even if these tales were really produced by the Gentes themselves, they could be well the ex post constructions of arbitrary leaders to secure their right to rule ideologically. As it has been mentioned erlier, it is a well-known fact (Ong 2002), that genealogical lines are more than any other folklore genre prone to be adjusted to the needs of currently ruling elite

I agree with the criticism. As rather romantic, I will omit the very idea of Traditionskerne, the overestimation of the importance of wandering, through the generations ruling families and their close retinues for the formation of the whole ethnic groups. For although no one can deny the connection between the identity of a certain group and the activity of its elite, or that every group's identity is to some extent artificially constructed, still, it would be naïve to assume that such a construction is only the matter of some king's claim or that it can be fully arbitrary enforced.

On the other hand, I believe that there is no need to refuse ethnogenesis theory as a whole. At least as far as its two basic assumptions are concerned: the situational and formal identity-forming principles of barbarian groups and their hierarchal division into military elite and commoners or generally the importance of armed männerbund structures for their operation. Given the information delivered via historical records and ancient folklore texts, all these moments seem to be typical for archaic IE communities, and so appropriate components to model their social organisation.

I believe that by means of socio-anthropological concepts of the Big Man System and Chiefdom a slightly romantic idea of Gens can be transformed into a more functional and sustainable model of social organisation. As the high military elite of the historians' Gens then can be recognised anthropologists' Big Man System's *representatives of ruling class*, who in *competition for prestige and influence try to build a complex network of lower class clients* (Budil 2001:30). Similarly, the smallfolk of the Gens then can be compared to Big Man System's *broad mass of general 'people' ..., who are assured by the system about their 'right to generosity' from the patron* (Budil 2001:30). And finally, the person of barbarian king, whose power is secured by the loyalty of his followers, strength of their arms as well as eloquence of their songs on legitimacy of his claim, can be compared to the powerful local Big Man, to whom the support of his numerous and influential clients gives the opportunity

to manipulate the traditional patterns of social organisation in order to push the society closer to the Chiefdom.

Therefore, for the purposes of this work, instead of denoting IE (pre)historical "ethnic" groups like "tribe", or "clan", which are categories intuitively associated with ideas of egalitarianism and non-formal, biological principles of group coherence, I will prioritize the anthropologically reassessed term Gens.

I propose to interpret the social reality of historical IE societies as an outcome of the symbiosis of the Big Man System and Chiefdom principles operating within the männerbund-centred organisation of Gens. The leader of elite origin gathers the group of followers to enforce his political ambitions (Gens). Though his claim is potentially hereditary (Chiefdom), he is supposed to prove it by his actual military power, by the number and quality of war band mustered by means of his personal achievement, especially gift giving generosity (the Big Man System). A natural outcome of this power management strategy is the control of the local population in a broader area. A socially stratified community emerges (Gens, the Big Man System). Though the informal, traditional and local bounds still can be present, often they are superimposed, marginalised or even substituted by their formal counterparts (Gens) of patron-client networks, by pragmatic dehumanised principles in the rulers' *cosmology of success* (the Big Man System).

Among historical sources to witness for this kind of social organisation in IE groups, well known passages from Tacitus' Germania can be quoted.

> Then, in the midst of the assembly, either one of the chiefs, or the father, or a relation, equips the youth with a shield and javelin. These are to them the manly gown; this is the first honor conferred on youth: before this they are considered as part of a household; afterwards, of the state. The dignity of chieftain is bestowed even on mere lads, whose descent is eminently illustrious, or whose fathers have performed signal services to the public; they are associated, however, with those of mature strength, who have already been declared capable of service; nor do they blush to be seen in the rank of companions. For the state of companionship itself has its several degrees, determined by the judgment of him whom they follow; and there is a great emulation among the companions, which shall possess the highest place in the favor of their chief; and among the chiefs, which shall excel in the number and valor of his companions. It is their dignity, their strength, to be always surrounded with a large body of select youth, an ornament in peace, a bulwark in war. And not in his own country alone, but among the neighboring states, the fame and glory of each chief consists in being distinguished for the number and bravery of his companions. Such chiefs are courted by embassies; distinguished by presents; and often by their reputation alone decide a war. ... The chiefs fight for victory; the companions for their chief. ... they (chiefs) are unable, without war and violence, to maintain a large train of

> followers. The companion requires from the liberality of his chief, the warlike steed, the bloody and conquering spear: and in place of pay, he expects to be supplied with a table, homely indeed, but plentiful. The funds for this munificence must be found in war and rapine; nor are they so easily persuaded to cultivate the earth, and await the produce of the seasons, as to challenge the foe, and expose themselves to wounds; nay, they even think it base and spiritless to earn by sweat what they might purchase with blood. (The Germany...)

It shows that ancient Germanic chief acts like a Big Man; his power depends on the number and quality of his clients, especially those providing military affairs, i.e. the war band. This war band is attracted to him by means of his generosity, an ability to distribute war booty among its members. Emphasis is also put on an elite background and character of the war band as well as its hierarchal organisation and inter-personal competition, all within the frame of intense relation of warrior-clients to their Big Man.

However, this kind of direct descriptive evidence is rare. Far more common are hints provided by texts of narrative folklore. Given the aforementioned arguments, especially Boyd's interpretative approach (Boyd 2009) to myth, it can be assumed that principles of Big Man System and other important social structures will be mirrored in contemporary folklore texts – mostly in an educative manner, i.e. demonstrating potentially problematic situations. And truly, many a Homeric, Germanic, Avestan, Vedic and other examples can be mentioned. As they are often notoriously known, as a reminder only one but a relevant example of each tradition will be quoted.

Between Achilleus and Agamemnōn, the patron-client relationship is manifested as a potential source of quarrels and in a form typical for IE epos, as a conflict between ruler and his "first knight".

> τὸν δ' ἄρ' ὑπόδρα ἰδὼν προσέφη πόδας ὠκὺς Ἀχιλλεύς:
> ὤ μοι ἀναιδείην ἐπιειμένε κερδαλεόφρον
> πῶς τίς τοι πρόφρων ἔπεσιν πείθηται Ἀχαιῶν
> ἢ ὁδὸν ἐλθέμεναι ἢ ἀνδράσιν ἶφι μάχεσθαι;
> οὐ γὰρ ἐγὼ Τρώων ἕνεκ' ἤλυθον αἰχμητάων
> δεῦρο μαχησόμενος, ἐπεὶ οὔ τί μοι αἴτιοί εἰσιν:
> οὐ γὰρ πώποτ' ἐμὰς βοῦς ἤλασαν οὐδὲ μὲν ἵππους,
> οὐδέ ποτ' ἐν Φθίῃ ἐριβώλακι βωτιανείρῃ
> καρπὸν ἐδηλήσαντ', ἐπεὶ ἦ μάλα πολλὰ μεταξὺ
> οὔρεά τε σκιόεντα θάλασσά τε ἠχήεσσα:
> ἀλλὰ σοὶ ὦ μέγ' ἀναιδὲς ἅμ' ἑσπόμεθ' ὄφρα σὺ χαίρῃς,
> τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάῳ σοί τε κυνῶπα

πρὸς Τρώων: τῶν οὔ τι μετατρέπῃ οὐδ' ἀλεγί-ζεις:
καὶ δή μοι γέρας αὐτὸς ἀφαιρήσεσθαι ἀπειλεῖς,
ᾧ ἔπι πολλὰ μόγησα, δόσαν δέ μοι υἷες Ἀχαιῶν.
οὐ μὲν σοί ποτε ἶσον ἔχω γέρας ὁππότ' Ἀχαιοὶ
Τρώων ἐκπέρσωσ' εὖ ναιόμενον πτολίεθρον:
ἀλλὰ τὸ μὲν πλεῖον πολυάϊκος πολέμοιο
χεῖρες ἐμαὶ διέπουσ': ἀτὰρ ἤν ποτε δασμὸς ἵκη-ται,
σοὶ τὸ γέρας πολὺ μεῖζον, ἐγὼ δ' ὀλίγον τε φίλον τε
ἔρχομ' ἔχων ἐπὶ νῆας, ἐπεί κε κάμω πολεμίζων.
νῦν δ' εἶμι Φθίην δ', ἐπεὶ ἦ πολὺ φέρτερόν ἐστιν
οἴκαδ' ἴμεν σὺν νηυσὶ κορωνίσιν, οὐδέ σ' ὀΐω
ἐνθάδ' ἄτιμος ἐὼν ἄφενος καὶ πλοῦτον ἀφύξειν.

(1.148-171; Homer: The Iliad I:14-15)

Then with an angry glance from beneath his brows
spake to him Achilles, swift of foot: „Ah me, thou
clothed in shamelessness, thou of crafty mind, how
shall any man of the Achaeans hearken to thy bidding
with a ready heart either to go on a journey or to
fight amain with warriors? I came not hither to
fight by reason of the spearmen of Troy, seeing they
are no whit at fault toward me. Never harried they
in any wise my kine or my horses, nor ever in deep-
soiled Phthia, nurse of men, did they lay waste the
grain, for full many things lie between us — shadowy
mountains and sounding sea. But thee, thou shame-
less one, did we follow hither, that thou mightest
be glad, seeking to win recompense for Menelaus
and for thee, thou dog-face, at the hands of the Tro-
jans. This thou regardest not, nor takest thought
thereof; and forsooth thou threatenest that thou
wilt thyself take from me the prize wherefor I toiled
much, and the sons of the Achaeans gave it me.
Never have I prize like to thine, when the Achaeans
sack a well-peopled citadel of the Trojans; nay,
the brunt of tumultuous war do my hands bear, but
if ever an apportionment cometh, thy prize is greater
far, while I go to my ships with some small thing,
yet mine own, when I am grown weary with fighting.
Now will I go hence to Phthia, seeing it is better far

to return home with my beaked ships, nor am I
minded here in dishonour to draw thee thy fill of
goods and wealth."

(Homer: The Iliad I:14-15)

Achilleus is offended by the lack of respect from his patron; especially by unfair distribution of resources. In the eyes of the hero (i.e. poet and an audience of the epos) the quarrel arises from Agamemnōn's failure to maintain properly one of the core institutions of a Gens/Big Man System, the ritual distribution of war booty. The patron does not even hesitate to take back what was once given to his best and most important client, to the person who deserves most to be the object of the king's favour and generosity. As this incident can be considered far the most serious denial of the established socio-economic patterns of Big Man System, there can be no wonder that it is a main story-shaping element, triggering such a fatal response of Achilleus with all the following dark events.

On the contrary, in a certain scene of the Bēowulf an author (and his audience/readers) seems to sympathise rather with the king than with his warriors. Hrōðgār, the ruler of Scyldings, is complaining about unsatisfactory client services.

Ful oft gebēotedon bēore druncene
ofer ealowæge ōretmecgas
þet hīe in bēorsele bīdan woldon
Grendles gūþe mid gryrum ecga.
Ðonne wæs þēos medoheal on morgentīd,
drihtsele drēorfāh þonne dæg līxte,
eal benċelu blōde bestymed,
heal heorudrēore; āhte ic holdra ty læs,
dēorre duguðe, þē þā dēað fornam.

(480-489; Beowulf 1994: 56-57)

Often they swore, as beer they drank,
over the ale-cup, the warriors,
that in the beer-hall, they will await
Grendel's attack, with terror of blades.
Then was this mead-hall, in the morning,
noble hall was blood-stained, when the day shone forth,
all the benches, blood-drenched,
hall of the battle-blood; the less of the loyal I had,
of the dear tried warriors, that death had carried them off.

To put it the way of suggested anthropological terminology, Hrōðgār represents a Big Man leader complaining on the impotence of his clients to live up to their reciprocal obligations. They are unable to deal with the Grendel-problem which means they do not deserve to be the objects of king's generosity.

For Avestan evidence, a short but fairly relevant passage of Jasna can be quoted. Here Zaraθuštra himself is said to complain to Ahura Mazda about the lack of his social influence and power. The prophet identifies the reasons of his situation as following.

> vaēdā taṯ yā ahmī mazdā anaēšō
> mā kamnafšuuā hiiaṯcā kamnānā ahmī
>
> (J46.2.a-b; Avesta)

> I know why I am powerless, O wise one:
> Few livestock are mine, and also I am one whose nars are few.
>
> (Lincoln 1991:151-152)

As Lincoln pointed out, *nar-* is an Avestan term for warrior, member of a socially distinct Iranian männerbünde, *yascā vāstrā vīvāpat / yascā vadarə vōiždat* 'who ravages the pastures / who raises a club' (Jasna 32.10a; Lincoln 1991:151). Hence again to put these verses another way, the prophet realises his vicious-circled failure to be a proper Big Man leader; being unable to gain and share resources, first of all cattle, he is unable to gather his own band of clients-warriors for cattle-raid to gain those resources. He is unable to assert his influence. As the core of the Avestan traditional texts probably emerged as result of a social change, perhaps some kind of rebellion of certain priestly group(s) against the traditional military elite (Lincoln 1981:162), such a plain mirroring of certain social facts, especially of this kind, seems to be only natural.

As for Vedic tradition, the situation is slightly different. Instead of being the element of social dynamism, here the narrative and religious specialists are responsible rather for stabilization of traditional social order organised by military elites – at least at the earlier stage of Vedic society. Thus, in such a highly formalised and ritualised discourse, instead of contemplating the problems, rather the demonstration of ideal patterns is to be expected. And truly, Indra, one of the central characters of Vedic pantheon, is constantly depicted as a guarantee of social unity, successful military activity and fluent income of resources, mainly in the form of war booty from the cattle raids.

> ukthám índrāya śáṃsyaṃ várdhanam puruniṣṣídhe/
> śakró yáthā sutéṣu ṇo rāráṇat sakhyéṣu ca//

tám ít sakʰitvá īmahe táṃ rāyé táṃ suvīrye/
sá śakrá utá naḥ śakad índro vásu dáyamānaḥ//
suvivṛ̥taṃ sunirájam índra tvādātam íd yáśaḥ /
gávām ápa vrajáṃ vṛ̥dʰi kṛ̥ṇuṣvá rādʰo adrivaḥ//
nahí tvā ródasī ubʰé rg̱ʰāyámāṇam ínvataḥ/
jéṣaḥ svàrvatīr apáḥ sáṃ gā́ asmábʰyaṃ dʰūnuhi//
áśrutkarṇa śrudʰī́ hávaṃ nú cid dadʰiṣva me gíraḥ/
índra stómam imám máma kṛ̥ṣvā́ yujáś cid ántaram//
vidmā́ hí tvā vṛ̥ṣantamaṃ vā́jeṣu havanaśrútam/
vṛ̥ṣantamasya hūmaha ūtíṃ sahasrasā́tamām//
á tū́ na indra kauśika mandasānáḥ sutám piba/
návyam āyuḥ prá sū́ tira kṛ̥dʰī́ sahasrasā́m ṛ̥ṣim//

(1.10.5-11; Rg-Veda)

To Indra must a laud be said, to strengthen him who freely gives,
That Śakra may take pleasure in our friendship and drink-offerings.
Him, him we seek for friendship, him for riches and heroic might.
For Indra, he is Śakra, he shall aid us while he gives us wealth.
Easy to turn and drive away, Indra, is spoil bestowed by thee.
Unclose the stable of the kine, and give us wealth O Thunder-armed
The heaven and earth contain thee not, together, in thy wrathful mood.
Win us the waters of the sky, and send us kine abundantly.
Hear, thou whose ear is quick, my call; take to thee readily my songs
O Indra, let this laud of mine come nearer even than thy friend.
We know thee mightiest of all, in battles hearer of our cry.
Of thee most mighty we invoke the aid that giveth thousandfold.
O Indra, Son of Kuśika, drink our libation with delight.
Prolong our life anew, and cause the seer to win a thousand gifts.

(1.10.5-11; The Hymns of the Ṛgveda:6)

As Whitaker demonstrated (2011), manly, brave, strong, generous and martially well-disposed Indra represents an ideal of Vedic ruler. What is more, it is likely that early Vedic lords directly participated in religious rituals of the military elite as the personal representatives of Indra himself (Whitaker 2011). It can be then assumed that the institution of Vedic chief – and hence the Vedic society as a whole – was organised along the principles of Big Man System operating within the frame of männerbund-centered structures. Thus Indra followed by Maruts can be considered a folklore expression of ruling Big Man and his elite war band.

Among the more poetic and symbolic representations of Big Man leader and his noble warrior-clients the typical theme of chief and his wolf pack hungering

for pray can be classified. Well known is the Homeric example (Lincoln 1981:127), where Achilleus, the most famous client of Agamemnōn is assembling his own clients to the battle.

> Μυρμιδόνας δ' ἄρ' ἐποιχόμενος θώρηξεν Ἀχιλλεὺς
> πάντας ἀνὰ κλισίας σὺν τεύχεσιν: οἳ δὲ λύκοι ὣς
> ὠμοφάγοι, τοῖσίν τε περὶ φρεσὶν ἄσπετος ἀλκή,
> οἵ τ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν μέγαν οὔρεσι δηώσαντες
> δάπτουσιν: πᾶσιν δὲ παρήϊον αἵματι φοινόν:
> καί τ' ἀγεληδὸν ἴασιν ἀπὸ κρήνης μελανύδρου
> λάψοντες γλώσσῃσιν ἀραιῇσιν μέλαν ὕδωρ
> ἄκρον ἐρευγόμενοι φόνον αἵματος: ἐν δέ τε θυμὸς
> στήθεσιν ἄτρομός ἐστι, περιστένεται δέ τε γαστήρ:
> τοῖοι Μυρμιδόνων ἡγήτορες ἠδὲ μέδοντες
> ἀμφ' ἀγαθὸν θεράποντα ποδώκεος Αἰακίδαο
> ῥώοντ': ἐν δ' ἄρα τοῖσιν ἀρήϊος ἵστατ' Ἀχιλλεύς,
> ὀτρύνων ἵππους τε καὶ ἀνέρας ἀσπιδιώτας.
>
> (16.155-167; Homer: The Iliad II:174-175)

> But Achilles went to and fro throughout the huts and armed all the Myrmidons in their armor, and they rushed out like ravening wolves in whose hearts is fury unspeakable – wolves that have slain in the hills a great horned stag, and rend him, and the jowels of all are red with gore; and in a pack they go to lap with their slender tongues the surface of the black water from a dusky spring, belching forth blood and gore, the heart in their breasts unflinching, and their bellies gorged full; so did the leaders and rulers of the Myrmidons speed out around the noble attendant of the swift-footed grandson of Aecus. And among them all stood warlike Achilles, urging on both horses and men who carry the shield.
>
> (Homer: The Iliad II:174-175)

Among others the Slavic variation in the Song on the Warhost of Igor can be mentioned. This time the wolf-pack metaphor is put into the mouth of Vsevolod, as this younger brother and the main client of Igor depicts his followers ready for the coming battle with advancing nomads.

Игорь ждетъ мила брата Всеволода.
И рече ему буй-туръ Всеволодъ:
«Одинъ братъ, одинъ свѣтъ
свѣтлый ты, Игорю!
Оба есвѣ Святъславличя!
Сѣдлай, брате, свои бръзыи комони.
А мои ти готови, осѣдлани
у Курьска напереди.
А мои ти Куряни свѣдоми къмети;
подъ трубами повити,
подъ шеломы възлѣлѣяни,
Конець копія въскърмлени.
Пути имъ вѣдоми,
яругы имь знаеми;
луци у нихъ напряжени,
тули отворени,
сабли изъострени.
Сами скачютъ, акы
сѣрыи влъци въ поле;
ищучи себѣ чти,
а князю славѣ.»

(79-99; The Tale of the Armament of Igor:4)

Igor awaits his dear brother Vsevolod.
And Vsevolod said to him:
„My one brother, my one bright light,
thou Igor!
We are both sons of Svyatoslav!
Brother, saddle thy swift horses;
mine are ready for thee, saddled
at Kursk beforehand:
and my men of Kursk are experienced fighters,
nursed amid trumpets,
rocked in helmets,
fed at the spear-blades,
well-known to them are the paths;
familiar to them are the ravines;
their saddle-bows are strung;
their quivers are open;

and their sabres are whetted.
They themselves gallop like
grey wolves in the field,
seeking honour for themselves,
and for their prince glory."

(The Tale of the Armament of Igor:4)

In the first case the desired war booty remains metaphorically expressed as a hunting game. In the latter it takes a form of social capital, i.e. honour and glory, the commodities of key importance for the life of any fair member of the Big Man System.

1.1.2 Theoretical Generalization

Even in the case of PIE social organization, the presence and importance of the männerbund institutions seems to be commonly accepted (Mallory 1989:125, Fortson 2004:19). The patron-client relations used to be stressed as well, though mainly in connection with the existence of IE poets and their relationship to their elite employers (Watkins 1995:70, Fortson 2004:29). However, given the reasons suggested above, I believe the patron-client relations operating within the frame of Gens structures can be postulated as the very basic organizational principle of IE groups in general.

Indeed, on the basis of multidisciplinary research this type of socio-political organisation can be assumed to already exist in the early PIE period. According to Anthony (2007) the emergence of stratified communities with a distinct elite is archaeologically documented in the Pontic-Caspian steppes from the beginning of 5th millennium BC. Just like Sahlin's typical Chiefs, their men of power controlled long-distance trade and inherited their social status. However, their social power was based on their ability and willingness to use their own resources, especially the livestock products, to sponsor the organisation of religious feastings, like typical Big Men.

This interpretation of Anthony's archaeological conclusions also seems to be supported by the research of historical comparative linguistics. Examination of archaic IE poetical figures, most probably originating in the PIE period, suggests that the power was based on leader's ability to control cattle (pie. **pe$\hat{k}$u-*) and subordinate men or warriors (pie. **u̯iHro-*, **h_2nēr-*) (Benveniste 1973:40-43, Lincoln 1991:147-166, Watkins 1995:197-214, Watkins 2000:101).

It can then be assumed, that especially in the case of archaic IE groups variations on elite männerbund-like structures formed the backbone of social organisation.

And even though war band ruled communities later perished in favour of more complex models of social organisation based on hereditary feudal relations, some of its mechanisms still survived.

Therefore I dare to conclude that an hierarchal social system, reigned by potentially hereditary männerbund elite organised along the Big Man System principles, was typical for IE societies, whether at the period of their common prehistoric origin or later during their separate existence in archaic (pre)historical IE linguistic branches. Considering all the aforementioned facts I suggest the reconstruction of archaic (P)IE social system schematically depicted in Figure 2.

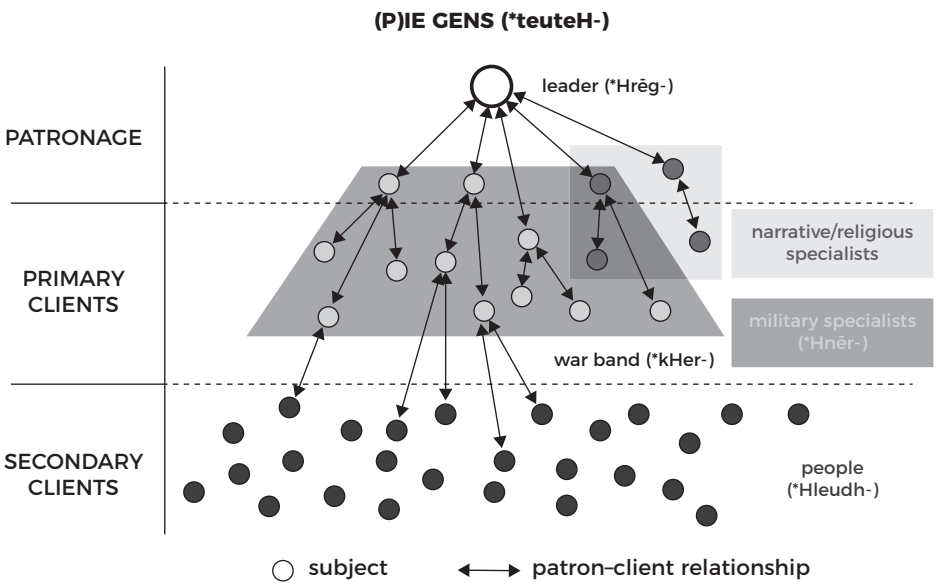


Figure 2

I use traditionally reconstructed terms of supposed PIE social reality, as their assumed semantic is often in considerable accordance with the presented model. I am aware of a certain level of uncertainty concerning their common PIE existence as well as their phonological structure. I see them as appropriate approximations, technical terms to label the elements of proposed reconstruction.

The leader, pie. *$*h_1rēg$-*, is in a position of the main patron who organises vast and stratified network of clients, forming the unit of political identity, Gens, pie. *$*teuteh_2$-*. However, within the body of Gens the real patron-client relations he establishes are only with the most needed followers, so-called *primary clients*. These form the true elite; as the specialists mustered to provide the leader's military

affairs, pie. *$*h_2nēr$-, they are manifested as a war band, pie. *$*kh_3er$-. Specialists of narrative/religious tradition, poets, providing the ideological needs, public relations as well as relations to supernatural reality are *$*h_2nēr$- as well. Structurally they are considered members of a military elite (De Vries 1963, Whitaker 2011) though with additional professional specialisation.

The leader's bonds with the rest of the Gens, with its unspecialised members, mass of commoners, practising necessarily only basic economic activities for their survival, pie. *$*h_1leudh$-, are rather abstract in their nature. Whereas primary clients are rewarded for their services materially, with elite feastings, share of the raid-booty or share of the benefits paid by commoners, the masses themselves, the *secondary clients*, are rewarded for collected economic products "only" with the ruler's promise of military and legal protection.

Thus, even though the ruler is the central patron of the whole Gens *de jure*, in fact the significant bonds he maintains mainly (though exceptions to the rule are possible) with upper elite members, influential warriors, poets, priests etc. These men in turn act (or at least they are supposed to act) as patrons of their own clients, enforcing their own interests. Therefore Gens is a hierarchal and pyramidal network of patrons and clients under a general patronage of the ruler as a supreme entrepreneur.

As for the opportunity to improve and confirm the social position, due to several aforementioned factors, the leader's close clients (and persons from their close environment; prominent clients, relatives etc.) are more advantageous compared to the rest of the population. This helps to make established hierarchal social structure intergenerationally stable. On the other hand, there are several sources of potential instability. The success-focused character of the Big Man System makes the boundaries of established social ranks floating and penetrable in their nature. Any man can go for the favour of any patron and any man, who is able to gain and then share the resources, can gain the appropriate number of followers to improve his social status. Depending on personal abilities and achievement, any patron can raise his position to challenge even the position of contemporary supreme leader.

I believe that the classical IE mythological theme of the three-functional hierarchal society, so much loved by Dumézil, is a narrative response just to this type of social organization. As the group of primary clients directly and materially profit from the leader's generosity, in real life its distinction from the rest of the Gens, the secondary clients, is more or less obvious. Therefore they represent that *well-nourished, well-dressed and well-armed part of the gens* (Homza 2002:245); they are distinguished from the rest of the community by physical constitution, appearance as well as acculturated and enculturated patterns of thought and behavior. Out of this reality emerges the tendency to depict the society as a hierarchy of distinct social ranks or the frequent presence of a gap between refined nobles and ragged

commons, dull, sturdy and ever deaf to mocking and slander, as it is known from the aforementioned Iranian or Gaul tradition.

In mythological narratives the highest social position belongs to the main patronage of Gens; to the leader and prominent, the most important member of his primary clients – best warriors, poets or priests. On this level the task of leadership and ideological management of society is emphasized. Another important rank belongs to regular primary clients, the war band. In appropriate narratives it is associated with military affairs. Finally, the base of the social pyramid is formed by secondary clients, performers of everyday economical activities.

It is only natural, that narratives depict the vertical structure of Gens society as a more or less rigid system of social ranks. In myths the social reality is typically hyperbolized, idealized and stereotyped. Their textual structures operate as both *models of reality* and *models for reality* (Geertz 1973). They answer to the need of individuals as well as the whole society to see those social structures as essential and innate. The more so they express the view point of elite, the part of society which is naturally content with established social order. Logically the outcome then is the idea of social hierarchy, whose existence and function are as "natural" and "primordial" as physical and functional hierarchy of the first humanoid body sacrificed in the world.

As once was suggested (unable to find the reference again, my apologies), the actual order of ranks probably depends on the affiliation of composers of myth to a particular elite group. If military specialists form the poet's social background, his predominant audience, then noble white-skinned and warlike Jarls are depicted on the top of the society. On the other hand, myth which emerged in the priestly circles will tell the story of white-dressed priestly Brahmans being the noblest social group.

As for the symbiotic coexistence of socially rigid narratives and rather socially benevolent reality of the Big Man System, the situation is not so rare. A fair example is our own postmodern democratic society. Though we openly adore and even successfully apply the ideals of egalitarianism and equality of opportunities in organization of our economic and social life, on some occasions and for some reasons we still compose narratives on class-stratification of our society. Not the least among them are the stories concerning its "three-functional" division to upper, middle and working class. In societies where the tendencies to their hierarchal organization were openly present and liberal ideals of French revolution were unknown, like aforementioned (P)IE communities with patronage and two sorts of clients, production of politically incorrect narratives of this sort are only the more natural.

I believe, therefore, that the hierarchal social system organized by war bands along the principles of the Big Man System and Chiefdom represents a sustainable model for the existence of stratified society even in conditions of PIE Mesolithic

Pontic-Caspian steppes, not to mention the advanced societies of archaic historical IE groups. It helps us to understand, how the mythological narratives of three-functional "caste" society could arise in primitive conditions of early PIE world.

1.2 Macro-Context: Neolithic Cargo Cult in the Pontic-Caspian Steppes

Anthony (2007) offered a promising vision of forming the IE Urheimat. He theorized that the process was triggered by the specific cultural interaction between two essentially different civilizations.

At the beginning of the 6th millennium BC on the western border of the Pontic-Caspian steppes ragged semi-nomadic steppe hunters of the PPIE dialectic area came into contact with an arriving civilization of settled herders, farmers, house-builders and copper smiths of AA linguistic origin.

Generally, the hunters ignored their new neighbours and their technologies. Perhaps, despite all the splendour of their civilisation, hunters were discouraged by the workaholic nature of the farmers' lifestyle. Nevertheless, later on the situation changed and at least in certain steppe areas specific adaptive behaviour among the hunters occurred. As Anthony demonstrated by archaeological data (2007), their turn towards the new technologies had triggered a unique, sudden and essential transformation of their society, leading to the formation of a new cattle-herding culture in the entire region of fore-Uralic Pontic-Caspian steppes.

According to Anthony's findings (2007), the first region of such an adaptive response can be documented in the area of direct contact of both economies, on the western steppe border, in so called Bug-Dniester archaeological culture (5800 – 5200 BC). Local hunters imitated economic practices of farmers; starting to grow cereals and to keep cattle. However, their motivation remains quite unclear. The examination of their garbage pits indicates that over several generations they did not use the fruits of their imitation as their daily diet. And to make the adaptive process even more confusing, for some reason they were also imitating the feasting pottery of the farmers.

But, as Anthony pointed out (2007), at the end of sixth millennium BC Bug-Dniester Culture was swallowed up by a further civilization boom and the expansion of farmers. They even crossed the river of Bug and increased their towns to thousands of inhabitants, moving many a mile deep in the steppes.

As a response to this process, the second wave of imitation occurred, this time in the heart of the hunter's steppes, in the area of the Dnieper Rapids. Specifically, since the last Ice Age culturally unique groups of hunters were localized there. Highly effective fishing in the rapids allowed them to build densely populated permanent settlements. They showed an increased level of military activity

and tendencies to differentiation of social status. And also, and this is perhaps the most significant and unique feature of their culture, they used to build permanent intergenerational graveyards (Anthony 2007).

About 5200 BC these hunters started to practice stockbreeding. However, nitrogen level in their bones, the specific result of fish consumption, remained traditionally high. Despite the adaption of the new food technology the main part of their daily diet was still secured by fishing. Again, just like in Bug-Dniester culture, through many generations the hunters of rapids did not use new acquired technology for a source of daily food (Anthony 2007).

Archaeological research of their graveyards suggests that they used cattle mainly for sacrificial communal feastings associated with burial ceremonies of the new elite, whose appearance corresponds only with the emergence of stockbreeding. As Anthony further emphasized (2007), this innovative culture of richly equipped elite, of sacral stockbreeding and of permanent graveyards started to spread into all the other areas of fore-Uralic steppes as a more or less closed and rigid cultural complex.

1.2.1 Neighbourly Envy Theory

It seems that through many generations steppe hunters practiced adapted technologies for non-pragmatic purpose, mostly as a source of feasting food in their religious ceremonies. What motivated them to adapt the new technologies, as their food security was most likely not the reason?

Anthony suggested a solution (2007) which can be denoted as *Neighbourly envy theory*. He hypothesized, that the hunters' motivation for their non-pragmatic imitation of farmers' technologies (feasting pottery, stock-breading) was their astonishment, which they felt observing pompous agriculture rituals of farmers with abundance and diversity of feasting on food. They wanted to organize similar happenings, with the same richness of consumed food. To be able to manage it successfully, Bug-Dniester hunters started to practice appropriate technologies.

> Socially ambitious foragers might have begun to cultivate gardens and raise cattle to sponsor feasts among their own people, even making serving bowls and cups like those used in Criş [farmers'] villages ... (Anthony 2007:153)

Also, in the case of innovative stock-breeding culture in the Dnieper Rapids area Anthony accentuated status, symbolical and non-pragmatic context of its emergence as well as gradual expansion to the other steppe areas.

> What seems at first to be a spread of a new food economy on a second look appears to be deeply intertwined in new rituals, new values associated with them, and new

> institutions of social power. People who did not accept the new animal currency, who remained foragers, did not even use formal cemeteries, much less sponsor such aggrandizing public funeral feast. (Anthony 2007:161)

This kind of interpretation seems to be correct in its general direction. Nonetheless, my aim is to support and extend it by reasoning based on knowledge of social processes documented by observance of living societies. The direct stimuli to upgrade Anthony's Neighbourly envy theory can be found in the reality of native social movements on the world's periphery during the industrial era (especially the World War II), in so called *Cargo Cults*. It seems that the Cargo Cult movements share remarkable similarities with the process of shaping of IE Urheimat reconstructed by Anthony.

Of course, stressing certain analogies of social behaviour between prehistoric hunters and modern Southern Pacific populations is not based on the assumption, that native Melanesian societies of modern era were some kind of Stone Age "social fossils". It is rather based on the reasonable expectation that certain processes enacted in the background of modern Cargo Cult activities are the general (if not universal) response of AMH exposed to certain conditions. It is then appropriate to expect their operation also in prehistoric human groups exposed to a similar situation.

1.2.2 The Cargo Cult

Alliterative collocation *cargo cult* appeared for the first time in everyday communication of journalists, missionaries and colonial clerks in the southwest Pacific Ocean during the forties of the last century. Through the following decades the phrase was borrowed and definitely popularized by anthropologists. The label Cargo Cult became a technical term referring to a specific kind of aboriginal social movement characterized by quasi-religious adoration of material prosperity, most often of western goods.

Truly, the attention of western scientists as well as the general public was grabbed especially by religiously disposed Cargo Cult movements. The idea that technological products of our western oil-based economy cause religious awe in the "savage minds" was probably too self-satisfactory to avoid its overestimating. Thus, in the post war era Cargo Cult became mainly a designation for millennialistic and prophetic cultic behaviour of confused aborigines, who in their ignorance performed western profane activities – dining, reading of papers, military drilling, operating dummy bamboo airports etc. – as religious or magical rituals to bring miraculously western cargo into their society. According to an early anthropological observation and interpretation, they believed that after the perfor-

mance of proper cultic ritual the ancestors will send them a ship or an airplane with western goods.

Yet in fact Cargo Cult activities took many different forms; besides religious-like practices also pragmatic socio-economic reform movements or open military rebellions appeared. Moreover, further research showed, that cultic movements, whose participants awaited the ultimate millennialistic advent of material prosperity occurred also in traditional societies with no contact with western civilization (Christiansen 1969). Also, the very religious response of aborigines to the presence of westerners could be triggered directly by western society itself. Missionary administration and education were often the only window of natives to the western world and so it would be only natural for them to figure out that to be technologically advanced means to be religious as well (Christiansen 1969). And not the least, aborigines could be inspired by colonists themselves, who in their deprivation of civilization often demonstrated their own overestimation of goods supplies, the "Cargo Cult longing" for their arrival (Lindstrom 1993). Thus, the idea of Cargo Cult as a direct result of savages' awe of foreign superior technology soon had to be abandoned.

Douglas (1996/1970/) pointed out, that Cargo Cults emerged especially in communities organized along the principles of the Big Man System. Since the power of the elite is based on the ability to gain and share wealth, society is then naturally disintegrated by the appearance of superior civilisation's prestigious but inaccessible commodities. The elite collapses and abruptly the needs of its clients are left unsatisfied, which opens the way for the rise of alternative leaders. However, in Big Man System economies social collapse can also be triggered by internal factors, especially due to the mutual and potentially self-destructive competition of Big Men. In this way the emergence of millennial Cargo Cult also in societies without any contact with foreign superior system can be explained.

Anyway, in the native Big Man System all the circulating goods are usually believed to be sent to the human world from a supernatural reality, most often from the world of ancestors. This could explain why the new leaders often act as religious prophets; they promise the return of goods distribution in accordance with traditional logic, i.e. in connection with religious practices.

Margaret Mead (1964) proposed an even more universalistic interpretation. In any disintegrated society there is formed an evolutionary cluster; a charismatic leader gathers the group of innovators in an attempt to find a solution to the social crisis. In the case of favourable historical circumstances as well as appropriately chosen solution the cluster can initiate complex cultural change.

> Nativistic cults vary in their dimensions from brief episodes in which a prophet or a new ritual activity temporarily seizes the imagination of a people to situations in which an entire culture, under the direction of the cult ideology, is consciously re-

> modelled along new lines. As a response to change, they are not limited to contact between a primitive and civilised people. They may, in fact, occur in any set of circumstances in which a group is faced with a major cultural breakdown and is under extreme pressure to copy foreign models to invent new ones, as a result of which the group focuses its efforts on redefining the whole cultural situation, including man's relationship to the universe, to his fellow men and to himself. (Mead 1964:193-194)

Thus, Cargo Cults can be perceived as only a special kind of revitalization movement, one of the universal means of human cultural evolution.

Of course, completely different interpretative conclusions are produced by postmodern approaches to Cargo Cults (Lindstrom 1993). They depict the phenomenon as a western construct, a self-satisfying projection of our own irrational and quasi-religious fetishization of goods and technology to "irrational savages".

Regardless of various interpretations, some basic Cargo Cult features can be taken as proved by direct observation and subsequent consensual interpretation.

Cargo Cult seems to be triggered especially by the contact of unequal cultural systems, where mutual interaction is limited by a communication (linguistic, cultural) barrier. The phenomenon itself is about adoration of material prosperity; it emerges especially in societies focused on sharing and circulation of goods. The leaders of Cargo Cults are innovative outsiders, who more or less consciously try to compose an ideology of change in order to bring an alternative to declining traditional elites and their collapsing system. Especially in the case of religious movements important is central ideological narrative – *cargo myth* (Worsley 1968); it is based on traditional mythological patterns, though innovated in order to explain the reasons of inferiority of natives to their more advanced neighbours as well as to communicate possible solutions to their delicate position. Typical for Cargo Cults is imitation of behaviour of superior group with shifted (symbolical, sacral) meaning. Cargo Cult activities impact considerably on traditional social organization (Worsley 1968); old modes of collective identity are rejected in favour of a new ideas and larger scaled and more integrating social structures. Participants of Cargo Cult often collectively identified themselves through antagonistic (xenophobic) attitudes towards the superior system and its representatives.

1.2.2.1 Explanation of Cargo Cult

Postmodern interpretations of Cargo Cult activities are partially correct. Our society with its own cult of consumption, fetishization of technological progress and connection of technology with social status could be classified alternatively as Cargo Cult.

Indeed, patterns of Cargo Cult thinking and behaviour seem to be present in any community of AMH, regardless of its time-space location or level of civilization complexity. And also, in explicit Cargo Cult movements, despite their obvious ethnographical (textual, textural, contextual) heterogeneity, some common features are present. It is then appropriate to search for a generalizing explanation.

In Cargo Cults, which emerged due to the contact of unequal cultural systems, a typical feature is the meaning-shifted imitation of practices and behaviour of the members of superior system. In the search for an explanation of this moment a combination of several evolutionary psychological concepts is at hand.

According to Dunbar (2004) one of the essential human abilities is to acquire new skills and knowledge, either through direct teaching or by means of imitation. This ability developed as both a tool and product of human evolution. It is a well-established fact, that the evolutionary process is a matter of culture as well as biology (Boyd & Richerson 1987). In the process of cultural and biological co-evolution (dual inheritance theory) effective and hence repeated behavioural strategies slowly became part of genetically encoded cognitive biases of AMH (Boyd & Richerson 2008).

Imitation is one of such genetically internalized behaviour. During the gradual development of genus homo, the most successful evolutionary were individuals ever eager to adapt to optimal cultural strategy for their current environment. In this case the result is the mental tendency of humans to imitate involuntarily and promptly cultural strategies, which seem to be successful.

> If one set of beliefs or values has easily observable advantages relative to the others, then there is an easy answer: individuals should adopt the beliefs and values that maximize reproductive success. It seems likely, however, that people commonly must choose among variant beliefs where it is quite difficult to determine which belief is most advantageous, even though the beliefs in fact differ in utility. Behavioural decision theorists ... and students of social learning argue from empirical evidence that the complexity and number of decisions force people to use simple rules of thumb. Chief among these is a heavy reliance on imitation to acquire most of their behaviour. (Boyd & Richerson 1987:69)

The more obvious the success of a superior system the higher the chance the inferior neighbour will start to imitate its strategies and features.

> To avoid errors, individuals adopt a particular behavior only if it appears *sufficiently* better than its alternative. The larger is the observed difference in payoffs between two behaviors, the more likely it is that the behavior with the higher payoff actually is the best. By insisting on a large difference in observed payoffs, individuals can reduce the chance that they will mistakenly adopt the inferior behaviour. (Boyd & Richerson 1995:130)

Besides success, similarity seems to be another criterion to trigger the imitative reaction. It allows the imitator to choose the appropriate strategy despite the complexness of the assessed situation. *If a model is very different than one's self, the model's success might not indicate that the innovation would be useful in one's own circumstances*. (Boyd & Richerson 1987:69) Conversely, similarities between model and imitator indicate that observed strategy would be potentially functional also in conditions of the imitator's environment.

It depends on the cultural background of the imitator, what is considered the indicator of success and similarity. However, success is generally evaluated in relation to various manifestation of genetic fitness, i.e. to an ability to raise offspring capable of reproduction. Of course, in practice this characteristic is more often assessed through its secondary manifestation; abundance of resources, efficiency of military technology etc. The second criterion, similarity, is usually evaluated by economic and social strategies as well as by various markers of group identity, arbitrary ones (dialect, ritual habits) or functional ones (social norms, standards of quality) (Boyd & Richerson 1987, Boyd & Richerson 2008).

As for the very motivation to adapt to foreign cultural patterns, besides the mentioned tendency of AMH to imitate the successful ones, there can be added an explanation based on Festinger's theory of *cognitive dissonance* (1957). Crisis in society caused by contact with another, more successful cultural system, challenges the mental integrity of individuals in the inferior culture. The clash of contradictory representations of reality, where those of inferior culture are naturally and seriously questioned by patterns in the superior one, induces a state of cognitive dissonance in the minds of the losing side. Therefore, its members need to reshape their individual as well as common worldview to make it consistent with new relevant information (Festinger 1957). Forming of Mead's innovative evolutionary cluster is one of the potentially effective ways to manage all the necessary changes in both individual and communal thinking.

As for the ritualistic character of many revivalist activities, from the anthropological point of view this kind of solution is only natural. In general, ritual is a tool of condensed communication of key communal matters, where the basic economical products and institutions are displayed (Douglas 1996 /1970/). The most efficient way to introduce brand-new economical patterns is then to make them a part of new religious rituals.

Given all the aforementioned arguments I suggest the following conclusion. Cargo Cult is a revitalising social movement which emerges in societies affected by a crisis caused by internal or external factors. Contact with a superior cultural system seems to be one of the typical external factors. Provided there is a sufficient measure of mutual similarity between both interacting systems (social mechanisms, economic commodities etc.), despite all the cultural barriers certain degree of mutual information exchange may occur. Due to the ontological con-

frontation with obviously superior system a cognitive dissonance arise among the members of the inferior culture, resulting in the collapse of their society. There is formed a cluster of innovators, who try to find a solution to the crisis. They search for measures to be taken to become equal to their superior neighbours. Since imitation of successful behaviour is a basic adaptive strategy of AMH, imitation of practices of a superior cultural system is often among the proposed solutions. Because of communication (language, cultural) barriers between both systems, and especially because of association of a crisis with the questions of inferiority and superiority, imitated behaviour acquires shifted semantics, often with status-marking aspects. Even arbitrary identity markers of the superior system (dining habits), or practices never meant to be such markers (reading of papers), are collectively imitated by the inferior culture as generally accepted signs of mutual status equality. New symbolical, ritual, even religious meaning of imitated elements also occurs. Religious context of imitation is probably connected with the natural need for supernatural legitimization of social action in elementary societies in general. Ritualistic character seems also to be fairly natural; ritual is a powerful way to communicate concisely and imperatively innovated cultural norms as well as to demonstrate the status of its provider.

1.2.3 Behold, the Lords of the Animals Come

The outcomes of Cargo Cult analysis presented above can be used to smarten up the aforementioned Neighbourly Envy Theory, particularly the question of the hunters' motivation to perform a non-pragmatic adaptation of farmers' technologies.

Bearing in mind the anthropologically attested nature of inferior culture's response to the presence of superior one, it is likely that PPIE hunters reacted to the arrival of the splendid AA farming civilization in a similar way, i.e. with serious social crisis. At least in some specific steppe areas; on the western borders as it was the place of long-term and direct contact and especially in the Dnieper Rapids.

It seems that the key significance of the Rapids in the process of interaction between both cultural systems was not arbitrary. According to Douglas (1996/1970/), sedentary human groups inhabiting densely populated regions tend to develop cultural norms of higher complexity and show higher level of ritualization. This assumption is in agreement with Anthony's findings (2007); the existence of social hierarchy as well as unusual ritualization and institutionalisation of funeral practices among sedentary hunters of the Dnieper Rapids. And, on the contrary, for the sparsely populated territories of nomadic or semi-nomadic groups, i.e. the rest of the steppe's hunting population, rather less ritualistic and loosely organised cultural system was typical.

It is then likely, that only hunters of the Dnieper Rapids shared with farming strangers, also settled in densely populated villages and towns, their sense of ritual as well as a tendency to maintain sophisticated, even hierarchal, social structures. Not to mention that as hunters, i.e. the people for whom sharing the resources and especially hunted game is a common norm cross-culturally, they were naturally sensitive to the appearance of people, who possessed unprecedented and far more efficiently managed animal commodity. Therefore, among all the population of the steppes the hunters of the Dnieper Rapids seem to be best suited to find a common course with farmers. The aforementioned condition of cultural similarity was satisfied. Mutual analogies in social organisation (hierarchy, ritual) and circulating economic commodity (animals) supported the mutual communication resulting in cognitive dissonance, social crisis and finally hunters' imitative response to farmers' lifestyle.

I believe the key factor to the socioeconomic integrity of the hunting-gathering groups of the Rapids was the appearance of new stock-breeding technology, the arrival of *the lords of the animals*. On the western borders of the steppes strangers appeared controlling animals to an even higher efficiency than hunters' shamans or supernatural agents. They needed no rituals, no magic, no help of specialist and supernatural beings, no dangerous and time-consuming hunting expeditions to get game meat. Just the contrary, whole herds of animals were under their control, peacefully waiting for slaughter whenever their masters decided so. No wonder then that in the heads of the hunters of those culturally advanced status-sensitive population of the Dnieper Rapids, cognitive dissonance emerged. The more so the civilization's superiority of newcomers was obvious in general; they had a number of previously unknown and impressive technologies (house building, stockbreeding, orcharding, copper metallurgy etc.) and relative abundance of food. They exhibit all the signs of a cultural system, which provides significantly higher genetic fitness for its participants.

It is likely that hunters of the Dnieper Rapids considered farmers successful people, worthy of imitation. And so, clusters of innovators emerged, imitating the farmers' technologies and behaviour with shifted, status marking and sacral meaning. It comes to imitation of the farmers' feasting pottery and also their feasting practices themselves; just like in the Melanesian Cargo Cults European dining habits were imitated. Also, the strange practice of sacral and status related stockbreeding started to be performed, similar to Melanesian imitation of western economic practices and activities in "rational" (plantation management) as well as "irrational" (operation of dummy airports and warehouses) way.

Probably the sacral stockbreeding was the key solution to the social crisis and cognitive dissonance of hunters. By means of this practice hunters successfully demonstrated that they were equal to the strangers; they also would be able to become the lords of the animals.

It is only natural that the hunters' innovators raised their social position in accordance with the principles of the Big Man System, i.e. the form of power typical for less complexly organised societies, based on personal initiative and generosity and associated with accumulation and sharing of commodities. Hardly a more fertile environment for emergence of this cross-culturally occurring form of power could be found, than in an elementary hunting-gathering economy focused on the sharing of irregular and non-cumulative resources (hunted game), which is in a period of social crisis caused by the appearance of new regular and cumulative resources (bred cattle).

Thus, it can be hypothesized, that in Bug-Dniester culture or Dnieper-Donets II culture in the Dnieper Rapids complex social processes occurred, which were by circumstance, as well as results, similar to the response of traditional societies in the Southern Pacific abruptly confronted with a presence of the western industrial cultural system. The specific imitative response of PPIE hunters to the presence of superior AA farming technologies shows features of the Cargo Cult. Anthony's concept of Neighbourly Envy Theory can then be seen as a part of this complex set of Cargo Cult ideas and activities.

1.2.4 From Cargo Cult to Proto-Indo-Europeans

Due to favourable ecological conditions within the steppes new Pontic-Caspian "cowboys" performed stockbreeding to an even higher efficiency than in their original models. Because of the economic success, associated Cargo Cult practice with its innovative cultural patterns were preserved, spread and finally gained the position of the dominant culture throughout the entire steppe region. Indeed, as Anthony pointed out (2007), there is clear archaeological evidence of the spread of the specific culture of Dnieper Rapids as a closed and stable cultural complex.

It is likely that this process intensified the possible linguistic homogeneity of fore-Uralic steppes. Perhaps the dialect of Dnieper Rapids (or maybe sociolect of its new formed elite) became a prestigious language norm to which neighbouring groups strived to converge. It is a well-known sociolinguistic fact (Wardhaugh 1998) that language changes, both synchronic and diachronic, are related mostly to social processes. Speech patterns of socioeconomically dominant communities often become the language standard for the wider population or at least induce systematic language changes in their surroundings.

The impact of supposed Cargo Cult development, however, was probably not limited to the field of language. It can help to explain the formation of the PIE cultural area, the formation of relatively homogeneous culture of the PIE homeland. To all the already known significant factors supporting the *Urheimat* hypothesis (arid areas forcing the existence of broader cooperative networks; Mallory 1989,

invention of horseback and chariot riding increasing mobility and communication range; Anthony 2007, etc.) the presence of Cargo Cult reality can also be added.

As mentioned above, Cargo Cult movements often caused unification and integration of society, overcoming traditional dialect or group identity. It is possible, that the process of cultural unification in the area of Dnieper Rapids as well as further expansion of its new cultural patterns was significantly strengthened by the integration pressure induced by cultic zeal typical for areas infected by the Cargo Cult. It is even possible, that cattle adoring steppe hunters, just like cargo adoring aborigines of the Southern Pacific, realised their common identity just through their common feelings of inferiority to superior strangers. Their commonly shared "nationalistic" attitudes towards ambivalently (if not negatively) perceived farmers could then fasten the expansion of new Cargo Cult cattle culture of Dnieper Rapids into the rest of the steppes and further the measure of their cultural integration.

1.2.5 **Sth$_2$eu̯ros*, **pe$\hat{k}$u*, **g^{u}ōusk^{u}e* **h$_2$eu̯sos*: bull, cattle property and the cows of dawn

Taking into account possible Cargo Cult origin of PIE society, several cultural traits observed in historical groups of IE dialect area can be interpreted as a relic of the original cattle Cargo Cult.

It is a well-known fact, that many of the key terms of PIE stockbreeding terminology are probably borrowed from AA languages. Root pie. **(s)th$_2$eu̯r-* 'bull', 'large domestic animal' is probably linked to Semitic branch of AA dialects, to psem. ** ´þ-w-r* 'bull', 'cattle' < paa. **č-w-r* '(a bull of) a big kind of antelope' (Dolgopolsky 2008:433-434, Blažek 1992:162-163, Blažek 2003). Note that from the point of view of Nostratic theory initial cluster pie. **st-* corresponds directly to paa. **č-* or psem. ** ´þ-* (Blažek 1992:162-163).

Similar is the situation of well-attested root pie. **g^{u}ou-*, 'cow'. Its origin can be probably found in root paa. **gaws-* 'bull', known through its descendants in several AA languages (Blažek 1992:154-155).

There may be mentioned also root pie. **pe$\hat{k}$u-* 'cattle', '(movable) wealth', as possible (though as for phonological correspondences not entirely correct) borrowing from the root aa. **b-k-r*, 'cattle' (Dolgopolsky 2008: 258, 1593). However, again form the point of view of Nostratic theory, correct equivalent of given AA root could be western ie. **bou̯k-* 'bull', attested mainly via Slavic and Celtic dialects. (Dolgopolsky 2008: 258).

This kind of etymological evidence proves the existence of contact between both language groups directly in PIE homeland's period and location. The takeover of the whole set of stockbreeding terminology also indicates the cultural

dominance of AA element. However, it does not necessarily prove that it means anything more (like Cargo Cult zeal for example) than logical openness towards the original terms associated with newly adopted technology. The only possible exception here is root **pekŵu-*, referring to connection of cattle and wealth, i.e. the connection of goods and social status, which is typical also for Cargo Cult reality.

More sustainable support for PPIE Cargo Cult hypothesis can be found, however, in mythological data. Many motives and themes common for archaic IE traditions can be alternatively interpreted as reminiscences of original adoration of cattle cargo.

McDonald (2004) demonstrates the high symbolical and emotional importance of cattle in the archaic IE world; motif of *cows of dawn* or lactating cow and her calf. It could be rooted in the unusually high importance of cattle keeping, possibly of Cargo Cult nature, at the dawn of PIE society.

But the hottest candidate for the mythological relic of the original Cargo Cult cattle-breeding ideology is the archaic IE concept of *sacredness of cattle*; the taboo imposed on threatening, killing and consumption of cattle, especially cows, except for ritual purposes. As Lincoln pointed out (1981, 1991), it is well attested in the Indo-Iranian area, manifested via stories of bovine magical power (cow Śabalā of Rāmāyana 1.50-55), its inviolability (myth of the pregnant bovine lament, Avesta J. 29) or profane consumption ban (Ṛg Veda 7.104.2, 10; Avesta J. 9.30, J. 11.1 etc.). However, also in other parts of the ancient IE world traces of this concept can be noticed; for instance, the key anthropogonic role of the primordial milk cow Auðumla in Gylfagynning, the incident with sacred herds of Helios in Odyssey or generally the common PIE concept of otherworld as a (cattle) pasture **u̯el-*, as Gamkrelidze & Ivanov (1995:723) outlined.

1.3 Recomposing the Indo-European Cosmogonic Myth

Considering the supposed presence of the Cargo Cult activities at the beginning of IE culture, it also leads to possible reconsideration of the semantics of well-known and comparatively well-attested cosmogonic myth; the story of the world's creation out of the body of primordial human and cow. If the generally accepted assumption that this myth was one of the central texts of PIE mythological tradition is correct – which I believe it is – then it should bear the traits of the above mentioned innovative cultural system of the Dnieper Rapids, perhaps even the original Cargo Cult ideology.

Reconstructed proto-myth tells the story of three cultural heroes; twin brothers with names **Manu-* 'Human', **i̯emo-* 'Twin' and **(S)Th₂eu̯r-* 'bull'. *Manu- sacrifices both of them; from his brother's body is created the world and society and

from the bull's body is created domesticated fauna and flora. The most famous proponent of this interpretative approach is Lincoln (1981, 1991).

Several authors accepted Lincoln's view (Mallory 1989, Anthony 2007, etc.), though they seem to avoid judging about the original social roles this couple of cultural heroes should represent. Not so Lincoln, who interpreted this binary opposition as a mythological response to personal division of power in PIE society between priest and king; *Manu- represents the first mythical priest whereas *Ie̯mo- is the primordial king (Lincoln 1981:87).

I believe, however, that certain objections can be raised against this interpretation. First of all, the very assumption about the dual division of power in PIE society seems to be rather unlikely in its early period, not to mention the process of its very formation. As the archaeological data indicate, leaders of early PIE groups were Big Men; their status and social influence was based on their ability to organise and sponsor offerings of cattle associated with communal feastings on its meat. It seems that both religious and worldly aspects of supreme power were provided by only one leading person, probably with a slightly dominating religious component.

This view is supported by knowledge of social anthropology. Anthropologists (Lawrence 1964, Christiansen 1969, Douglas 1996/1970/, etc.) suggested that for the Big Man the accumulation of worldly as well as otherworldly (religiously, magically) legitimised power is rather typical.

Indeed, to postulate so complex an organisation of power, i.e. mythologically reflected and hence culturally stabilised dual division of elite, in elementary cultural system is problematic. The situation of advanced historical IE societies, where this kind of duality seems to be present at least to some degree, should not be anachronistically projected to early PIE times in the Neolithic steppe wilderness.

Given the way archaic societies used to legitimise power of their elites it is rather inappropriate to assume the personal separation of religious and worldly power at the dawn of IE culture. According to one of the theories, religion is an evolutionarily developed tool to regulate human society and stimulate cooperative behaviour. Supernatural agents are seen as the patrons of social norms cross-culturally (Dunbar 2004). Therefore, it is natural for a supreme leader of archaic times to participate in religious affairs or to use the supernatural reality as a source of his status legitimacy.

The research of comparative historical linguistics also supports the proposed all-embracing authority of rather religiously disposed early PIE Big Man leader. As Benveniste demonstrated (1973:312), the power of a PIE supreme ruler *h_1*rēg-* was based on his cultic and judicial function.

A final and none less significant set of reasons to question Lincoln's traditional interpretation is rooted in the reality of mythological texts themselves. Reading them consistently, supposed mythological successors of **Ie̯mo- the King* are not the

typical or ideal kings at all; they are rather monsters, giants or unworthy wicked rulers.

In Eddaic tradition Ymir is a primordial hermaphroditic giant, father to a demonic race of giants who are hostile to both men and gods. In eastern Slavic Byliny tradition *Į̂emo-'s most likely successor is gigantic bogatyr Jegor Svjatogor ('George the Holy Mountain'), giant of old times who is too strong to inhabit the world of men and after his death he is transformed into a mountain. Titan Atlas of ancient Greek tradition is related to *Į̂emo- theme in almost the same way; he is a primordial giant punished for his participation in war against the gods to be the pillar of heaven and finally is turned into a mountain. Also, their well-known Indo-Iranian counterparts Puruṣa and Gajōmart are rather undifferentiated world giants, non-social and non-human in their nature. Only the act of sacrifice itself humanises them, or their remnants to be more specific, making human friendly reality out of their dead bodies. And definitely they are not kings at all.

Even when *Į̂emo-'s supposed mythological successors tend to be portrayed as kings, they are still only would-be kings, or kings of primordial fore-social times who often manifest themselves to be the sinners, deposed losers and grotesques of a true kingship. This is the case of Roman Remus *(<*Į̂emo(no)s; *į̂ > /*alliterative rotacism to Romulus/ > *r*; Puhvel 1989:288), greedy for power, or of sinful Avestan Jima. Similarly, in eastern Slavic syncretic apocryphal tradition, namely in the Verse on the Dove/Deep Book (rus. Стих о Голубиной книге), the three social classes are created out of the body of Adam, a primordial fore-social being and losing sinner par excellence, yet no king, of Judeo-Christian tradition. More or less positive characters as Indic Yama or Irish Donn, son of Mill still perform their king offices outside the human world.

On the other hand, and completely different, is the position of *Manu-'s mythological successors. Eddaic Oðin, Germanic Mannus of Tacitus, Vedic Manu, Manuščir of pre-Zoroastrian Iran, Romulus of Rome, Amairgen of Irish and others, they are all the positive and central characters; founder fathers, supreme rulers and high priests. This position of *Manu- as a "good guy" of IE cosmogony seems to be systematically consistent. In Indo-Iranian tradition, where the original concept of sacredness of cattle was hyperbolized to problematize the killing of cows even for religious purposes, *Manu- was substituted in his role of primordial sacrificer by demonic principle (Ahriman of Avesta, Asurāḥ of Śatapatha Brāhmana), as if to preserve his traditionally positive image.

The third set of reinterpretation supporting arguments is based on both general anthropology of twin myth as well as on the examination of its specific function in modern Cargo Cult movements.

A dualistic myth dealing with the story of twin brothers is culturally universal. The reasons for its popularity are probably cognitive as well as social. From the cognitive point of view, binary thought patterns form a significant part of

AMH's cognition (Dunbar 2004). Due to the structure of their minds, in many cases people have simply no other choice than to perceive and contemplate the world in binary oppositions. As for the social stimuli, according to Douglas (1996/1970/), a dualistic worldview (us; good ones; witch hunters vs. them; evil ones; witches), with the twin myth as one of its common manifestations, typically emerges in elementary organised sedentary societies of small local groups with rather strongly defined boundaries. It means that the emergence of twin myth in certain types of social environments is only natural. Multiply stimulated, it can be invented easily and intuitively, without any theological speculations provided by more complicated social institutions.

Thus the archaic sedentary groups, as well as many modern "primitives", form an ideal environment for the invention and maintenance of twin myth. Particularly as they organise themselves into millennial revivalist movements where the group boundaries and black-and-white worldview is typically amplified.

No wonder then, that in documented Cargo Cult movements the traditional twin myths are often present. They are innovated in order to explain the causes of inequality between aboriginal and western societies; because of a primordial mistake by one of the brothers, ancestor of aborigines, they are today inferior to westerners, whose ancestor, latter of the twin brothers, did not make the mistake (Worsley 1968).

Reconsidering attention in the structure of IE creation myth deserves also the very motif of sacrifice. Examining the texts consequently, it is even not clear, whether it truly is a common PIE theme. In Roman and Vedic variants, the murderous act is more or less (Roman rather less) directly connected with the ritual activity. On the other hand, Eddaic, Avestan, Irish and eastern Slavic apocryphal and epic evidence do not support this kind of interpretation. In fact, the texts seem to rather bear witness against the existence of widespread narrative concept of primordial sacrifice within the PIE cultural area.

However, this is not to say that the sacrifice motif was completely unknown in original PIE narrative tradition. Particular historical realisations of IE creation theme are most likely the descendants of different local variants of PIE narrative folklore. Especially in regard to its macro-contextual background, with its frenetic ritual activity, it is possible that it was a genuine part of PIE tradition, even though it represented only one of several local variants. It is likely that the motives of the twin brother's undesirable or accidental death, but also murder, assassination or even ritual sacrifice coexisted simultaneously and could be combined arbitrarily, some of them allowed, others omitted in current PIE storytelling, all depending on the local audience's preferences.

Similarly questionable is the general significance of the primordial bovine slaughter theme for PIE narrative environment. Its presence is evident only in the case of Indo-Iranian tradition (Avesta, Śatapatha Brāhmana, perhaps Puru asūkta

/pu-vr̥śa, 'man-bull'; Lincoln 1981:75/). Here in the IE east, however, the attitude towards cattle is problematized in general and therefore there can be assumed some measure of divergence from the original PIE pattern. Other examples do not contain this motif. Again, statistics seem to witness for its rather less frequent occurrence within the varied narrative portfolio of PIE cosmogony. The assumed *sacredness of cattle* concept discussed above is of little use here as it neither confirms nor disproves the common existence of a cattle-killing theme in PIE narratives; taboo imposed on profane killing of cattle could be narratively reflected as either 1) respectful treatment or 2) killing, though due to the taboo exception only in the case of sacred ritual.

So, it seems that the single common theme across the different historical records of PIE creation myth, and hence the only common PIE matter, is the act of brother-slaying.

Given all the anthropological, linguistic and archaeological arguments presented above, it is appropriate to reconsider the traditional interpretative approach to PIE cosmogony. And this reconsideration can be seen as an opportunity to reinterpret some of its themes and motives as relics of PPIE cattle Cargo Cult ideology. But I believe that it is possible to go even further and identify relics of three different diachronic layers in myth's text; the most archaic postglacial stage, then the Cargo Cult stage and the latest one, the PIE stage.

1.3.1 Song of the First Murderer

It was argued that twin myth typically emerges in elementary sedentary societies of small local groups with rather strongly defined boundaries. It was also demonstrated that the postglacial population of the Dnieper Rapids showed exactly this nature. Ergo it can be assumed, that it represented a fair example of a culture producing a mythology of twin brothers. The twin myth probably formed an important part of its narrative tradition, even in the time before the arrival of AA farmers. In order to identify the innovative Cargo Cult semantics, its possible content before Cargo Cult period should first be reflected.

It is typical for traditional, pre-technical, less complexly organised societies, that their supernatural agents do not take a form of gods, the noble omnipotent powers, beings of nature vastly different from humans', as they are known from classical literary mythologies of ancient states. These deities are supernatural not by their non-human nature, but mostly by performing their actions in ancient, primordial days, in the *dream time* or in the world and life beyond. They are cultural heroes, originators of important social institutions, habits, geographical locations and/or simply the spirits of the dead, more or less distant ancestors of living people.

As Anthony (2007) pointed out, one of the significant and unique feature of the Dnieper Rapids' cultural system was the operation of permanent intergenerational graveyards with remarkable elaboration of funeral rites. It can then be reasonably expected, that affairs of death, afterlife and underworld played an important role in this cultural environment and so its traditional cultural heroes were somehow associated with death.

And just the content of this kind is present in PIE twin myth, as Lincoln (1991:32-48) demonstrated. The name of Gajōmart, the most famous *Ị̂emo-like victim of murder in Avestan tradition, means 'mortal life'; Indic Yama rules the Underworld just as the accidentally killed Mill of Irish tradition; Avestan Yima is the king of the Golden Age and vast underground vault. Let there by again mentioned an example of giant bogatyr Svjatogor, who, performing his last adventure, finds a coffin on the top of the Holy Mountain, willingly lies in it and dies. A similar situation is depicted by Russian apocryphal tradition; the skull of Adam, first sinner and originator of three social classes is buried under Christ's cross atop the mountain of Golgotha.

On the basis of these facts it can be assumed that the theme of death eventually represents the most ancient layer in the semantics of IE creation myth. Probably it is associated with the advanced "funeral" culture of steppe hunter-gatherers, which persisted in the area of the Dnieper Rapids since the glacial retreat after the last Ice Age until the arrival of AA farmers. It is likely that this death-focused society produced narrative explaining the very origin of death, probably as a result of some cultural hero's improper, perhaps accidental, act. It is possible that this motif was woven into the twin theme in order to mirror the binary opposition of life and death. People living their everyday lives with cemeteries in their sight and forebears in their minds were well confronted with the distinction between both modes of existence. It can be then assumed that even in the earliest stage their central traditional narrative told the story of twin brothers, where one of them, perhaps due to some mortal accident or even murderous quarrel between the twins, was killed and became the *Lord of the Dead*, i.e. the first dead being in the world and hence the originator and master of the death itself.

Yet one more aspect of the post-glacial Dnieper Rapids' hypothetical narrative folklore is worth consideration. In the cultural systems, where the dead ancestors are chosen for the role of supernatural agents, naturally they are supposed to also be the guarantees of economic prosperity. It is believed, that by means of proper religious practice worldly men can win the favour of ancestors, who will then be helpful in successful management of the worldly economic activities (Worsley 1968, Christiansen 1969, Douglas 1996/1970/).

In the case of hunting-gathering culture it can be expected, that supernatural agents are responsible for the affairs of hunt; abundance of animals, hunting success etc. This also includes the operation of religious specialists of hunters, most

probably shamans, who were supposed to communicate with the otherworld and its inhabitants, the ancestors or the Lord of the Dead himself, just in order to manage the game affairs.

Therefore, it is possible, that a cultural hero associated with death, afterlife and the otherworld was also supposed to operate the game. Perhaps the death-bringing twin himself also played the role of the *Lord of the Animals*; from the world beyond he protected and controlled animals and had even the power to drive them into the hunting territories of worldly men.

1.3.2 Song of the Cattle Prophet

It was argued that the arrival of the Lords of the Animals plunged the hunters' cultural system into crisis. Traditional norms, values and authorities were questioned. In this situation, especially on the social periphery, alternative leaders arose. Gathering people, they preached the solutions to their problems. It is likely, that just like in modern Cargo Cults, cultic and ritualistic adaptation to the superior culture with adoption of its significant cultural traits, and mainly economical practice and technology, was identified as the most promising solution.

The changed social situation necessarily required the appropriate narratives to mirror as well as manage the ongoing social transformation. For many reasons (cognitive load, authority of tradition), instead of inventing a brand-new story, it is optimal rather to modify an old one, well and commonly known. As it was argued above, often the participants of certain narrative traditions even stay unaware of textual changes in repeated texts, if only the modifications are managed skilfully enough and/or stories are formally performed in a more or less traditional way. And although, in the case of revitalisation movements, people are often consciously refusing the old principles and establishing the new ones (Mead 1964), still the creative use of the traditional narrative patterns is much more efficient. The more so in the case of the Dnieper Rapids where the twin myth, with its dualism suitable to embrace the new reality of bilateral cultural confrontation, was probably in common use.

In the case of modern Cargo Cults, Melanesian natives believed that technically advanced pale strangers are the dead ancestors who, equipped with miraculous gear, are returning from the overseas otherworld to their living dark-skinned relatives (Worsley 1968). It was told by the South Pacific cargo myths, that Europeans are the descendants of the native cultural hero, who in the beginning did not descend to the earth to originate the native population, like his twin brother, but persisted in lower heavens instead, where he obtained the miraculous cargo and later bestowed it on his European offspring (Worsley 1968).

It is possible that in the collapsing cultural system of Dnieper Rapids the similar sematic shift in mythological texts occurred. The traditional mythical hero of hunters, who ruled the mysterious realm of the otherworld and supernaturally controlled the animals, began to be associated with the arriving farmers. Just like him, they also approached the reality of hunters from the world beyond (the known landscape) and possessed the "supernatural" power to control the animals. Even the biological anthropological distinctions to emphasize the dualistic interpretation was present, though this time it was the strangers who possibly showed the darker skin colour and the more subtle physiognomy, as Anthony (2007) suggested. Thus, the figure of Proto-*I̯emo-, traditional cultural hero, the lord of the dead and animals, was innovatively transformed into the representative of ambivalent farmers.

In some variants even the traditional association of Proto-*I̯emo with shamanic profession could be preserved, probably as a manifestation of the population's negative attitudes, and especially from the viewpoint of alternative Cargo Cult leaders and their followers, towards the traditional elites and their collapsing cultural system. Or, in some variants, both themes could be mingled together. Proto-*I̯emo-'s negative semantics of socially ambitious but defeated monstrosity is well in the line with hunters' Cargo Cult rebellion, no matter whether against the superiority of foreign farmers or obsolete shamanic leadership in their own ranks.

This kind of syncretism, the transformation of the formerly alien entities to genuine parts of native tradition, in this case the penetration of farmers and their representatives into the symbolic world of steppe hunters, is only natural, cross-culturally observed outcome of inter-cultural communication (Douglas 1996/1970/). Just like in modern Cargo Cults, to avoid cognitive dissonance, any new and socially significant event or fact has to be integrated into the traditional ontology.

Anyway, with this reality seems to be connected perhaps the most significant semantic relic of supposed PPIE Pontic-Caspian Cargo Cult crisis preserved in later IE myths. Hereby I mean the recurrently appearing semantic structure within the IE creation myth, the theme of the destruction of the body, whereas this body more or less explicitly symbolises the society. In IE myths, the killed being is often the representative of the potentially supreme element; primordial human, giant, coming or unworthy king. It represents the society, especially in regard to its slaughter and dismemberment. Through the act of its killing the social cosmos is created.

According to Mary Douglas (1996/1970/), in every cultural system there is close relation between the social and biological body, between the character of society and the attitudes of its members towards their physical bodies. Societies, or at least those of their segments, which are content with the existing

social order have a tendency to produce a cultural system adoring possibilities and needs of the human body or generally materiality, gain etc. The typical examples are historical military elites with their focus on physical strength, pleasure and material gain. Conversely, communities revolting against the social mainstream, like monastic or revitalisation movements, used to deny the positive character of the human body and its physical needs. They preach refusal of material existence in exchange of future rewards, the well-known promise of "pie in the sky".

This observation could be crucial for Cargo Cult interpretation of the destruction of the body theme. In IE cosmogonic myths the symbolic relationship between social and physical body is perhaps one of the strongest and closest ever, and at the same time, accompanied with quite clear semantics of refusal – its killing and fragmentation. It might then indicate that the core of this theme emerged during the period of social revolt, when traditional social institutions were refused, denied or seriously revised. The society was utterly killed and fragmented.

But myth, in which the alien supremacy is butcherly humiliated, could also have a less symbolic and more direct relationship to its Cargo Cult macrocontext. Maybe it should be understood as a narrative compensation of hunters' frustration, caused by the civilisation superiority of the farming strangers. Therefore, just like in modern Cargo Cults, ancestors of both rival cultural systems are twin brothers, all to demonstrate that both cultures *are equal* and so are their successors. Moreover, the representative of the hunters is a final physical victor over the representative of the previously dominating element. As a loyal follower of his culture, as the true hunter, he simply hunts down, i.e. kills and butchers his human competitor and perhaps also his animal. As for the mentioned similarities between PPIE development and modern Cargo Cults, also note that in certain Melanesian cargo movement the ritual was recorded, where the white pig symbolising the hostile pale-skinned Europeans was exemplarily slaughtered during the sacrifice (Worsley 1968:23). Perhaps this is one of the reasons, why the representative of hunters is labelled during the later PIE period in the most noble ethnocentric way, *Manu-, 'human', while his opponent becomes *Ḭemo-, 'a twin', only an appendix, something of secondary importance without even a proper name.

It is then possible, that during the crisis the concept of Proto-*Manu- emerged, a positive hero representing the hunters' yearning for a social change and their struggle against all the forms of current organisation and domination, and especially against the supremacy of foreign farmers.

1.3.3 Song of the Big Man

Of course, myth is not the record of history. Narrative patterns reflecting macro-contextual events are constantly adjusted to mirror the everyday mezzo-contextual reality. Orally transmitted texts constantly change, ever to respond to the actual needs and moods of its audience. More than three generations are long enough to erase or at least deform significantly most of the memories concerning the different social situation in the past, even the most serious of the crisis.

Nevertheless, during the diachronic transmission of any orally transmitted narrative, despite all the obligatory pressures of universal cognitive patterns and general patterns of human social life, certain traits of the original historical context can be preserved. If they are not in direct contradiction with all the pressing mezzo-contextual biases, they can survive in a form of subtle but structurally coherent semantic details (Cigán 2010). In this way historical events can stamp the seal of uniqueness to any narrative; especially in the case of socially significant events which occurred during the period of its first composition.

PIE creation myth, brother-slaying sociogonic story of *Manu-, *Ḭemo- and *(S)Th$_2$eu̯r, could be no exception to this assumption. Frequent occurrence of a more or less identical cosmogonic theme in different historical IE traditions suggests that at least its basic pattern was commonly shared in the PIE cultural area. Being so popular, it had to be current above all. As such, it mirrored the context of a stabilised society, scarcely aware of past crisis, solemnly ancient, being convinced of its unchanged existence since the mythical beginnings of time. To put it in other words, bearers of this myth did not realise, that their society emerged during the crisis as a result of its successful Cargo Cult solution.

Therefore, it would be naïve to assume, that the story about slaughtering the old and establishing the new is something like a documentary narrative reflection of the positive historical development from the depression of crisis towards the brighter tomorrows of a new society. It should be rather seen as a condensed ideological legitimisation of a current social order. It is simply an aetiological narrative on a non-egalitarian, vertically stratified Big Man System society.

On the other hand, this narrative was naturally built of older motifs and themes. Ideological reminiscences on the past crisis could in some cases unconsciously infiltrate into its body. This is the case of the butchering theme. Even though deprived of original Cargo Cult semantics (a revitalising attack against the social body), still this textual structure was useful as an introduction to the theme of stratified society.

Thus, the story of creating the new society through the killing of the old humanoid being is probably a combination of two semantically, as well as historically, independent elements. The first of them, the theme of slaughter and fragmentation,

is a semantically emptied heritage of the forgotten Cargo Cult past, a narrative fossil deprived of its original meaning. The latter one, the emergence of stratified society theme, is the etiologic legitimisation of current social differences. Both are woven into one story only mechanically, due to their natural mutual affiliation concerning the needs of sujet and its internal logic; when old (primordial body in this case) comes to its end, something new (social hierarchy in this case) necessarily begins. And no wonder that they are woven into the twin theme. This kind of narrative is cognitively available and probably it had been associated with the slaughter theme in the area of PIE Homeland since the time immemorial.

*Manu-, the ruler and sacrificer, the priest-king, is the mythological reflection of the elite member of stabilised PIE stockbreeding Big Man System society. Probably he started his historical career as Anthony's richly equipped and decorated leader with the stone mace of Dnieper-Donets II culture, famous for sponsoring and organization of religious rituals, to be known eventually as *h₁rēg*, PIE supreme entrepreneur of religiously based authority.

In PIE period *Ḭemo-, on the other hand, was finally stabilised as simply a binary counterpart of *Manu-. As an opposition to *Manu-'s central and positive character, he is depicted as someone who is less important, even negative. Thus, he lacks *Manu-'s designation of anthropocentrism par excellence and is named only as a Twin, i.e. 'a copy', 'a secondary one'. He is only a subject of *Manu-'s actions and acquires further negative characteristics, most likely along the older – Cargo Cult or even earlier postglacial – motivic lines; lord of the dead, twin-brother representing equality, deposed an unworthy ruler, monster, sinner, stranger, butchered a social body, etc. The old motif of Proto-*Ḭemo- the Lord of the Animals, however, was forgotten. PIE cattle herders were no more interested in game affairs and the domestic animals were under the control of *Manu- after all.

	contextual background	narrative manifestation
PIE narrative themes culturally exclusive for PIE homeland	successfully completed transformation of innovative Cargo Cult to the central culture of revitalized hierarchal Big Man System stockbreeding society	in some variants older motives preserved: ritual/sacrifice, killing of animal/cow, Proto-*Ḭemo-´s monstrosity, otherworldliness (his game-keeping function forgotten)
		negative character of *Ḭemo- stabilised: represents the binary counterpart of *Manu-, the matter of creation
		positive character of *Manu- stabilised: represents stockbreeding Big Man elite (accompanied by cattle) managing (creating) the stratified Big Man System society
		legitimization of current social system: aetiology of social hierarchy expressed by means of cognitive optimal twin myth using older semantics

	contextual background	narrative manifestation
PPIE Cargo Cult narrative themes culturally exclusive for Dnieper Rapids	collapse of death-focused hunter-gatherers' society caused by the arrival of farmers as The Lords of the Animals: emergence of hunters´ evolutionary clusters with innovative Cargo Cult practise and ideas compensating for hunters´ cultural inferiority to farmers	reflection of Cargo Cult reality: ritual aspect of activities emphasized (achieving goal by means of ritual)
		denial of foreign superior social system: Proto-*Manu- destructs its bodily representation Proto-*l̥emo- as superior farmer (and cow as a symbol of his cargo possession)
		denial of traditional social system: Proto-*Manu- destructs its bodily representation Proto-*l̥emo- as obsolete shamanic leader (and animal as a symbol of his power over the game)
		negative character of Proto-*l̥emo- stabilised: represents superior farmers and/or hunters´ shamanic elites identified with Lord of the Dead and Animals , depicted as an alien monster and/or unworthy ruler
		positive character of Proto-*Manu- stabilised: represents hunters and/or hunters´ innovators as a "true humans" and winners over the alien monster and unworthy ruler
		emergence of Cargo Cult twin myth
Postglacial narrative themes culturally exclusive for Dnieper Rapids	society of death-focused hunter-gatherers, sedentary and of higher settlement density	shamanic elite identified with Lord of the Dead and Animals
		Lord of the Dead and Animals motif emerge: supernatural connection of otherworld and game keeping cause accumulation of both functions in one supernatural agent
		Lord of the Animals myth: cultural hero as a keeper of the game
		Lord of the Dead myth: cultural hero as an originator of death and ruler of underworld, the part of a twin myth
Postglacial narrative themes culturally universal	elementary hunter-gatherers' society	myths concerning the primordial aetiological acts of cultural heroes
		supernatural agents as ancestral cultural heroes
		twin myth

Figure 3

A proposed diachronic development of this Pontic-Caspian prehistory's central ontological narrative is summarised via the pair of figures. While Figure 3 is focused on contextual changes and their influence on emergence and transformation of corresponding textual structures, the Figure 4 rather demonstrates supposed textual transformation of myth as a whole, concentrating on the basic structure of its sujet.

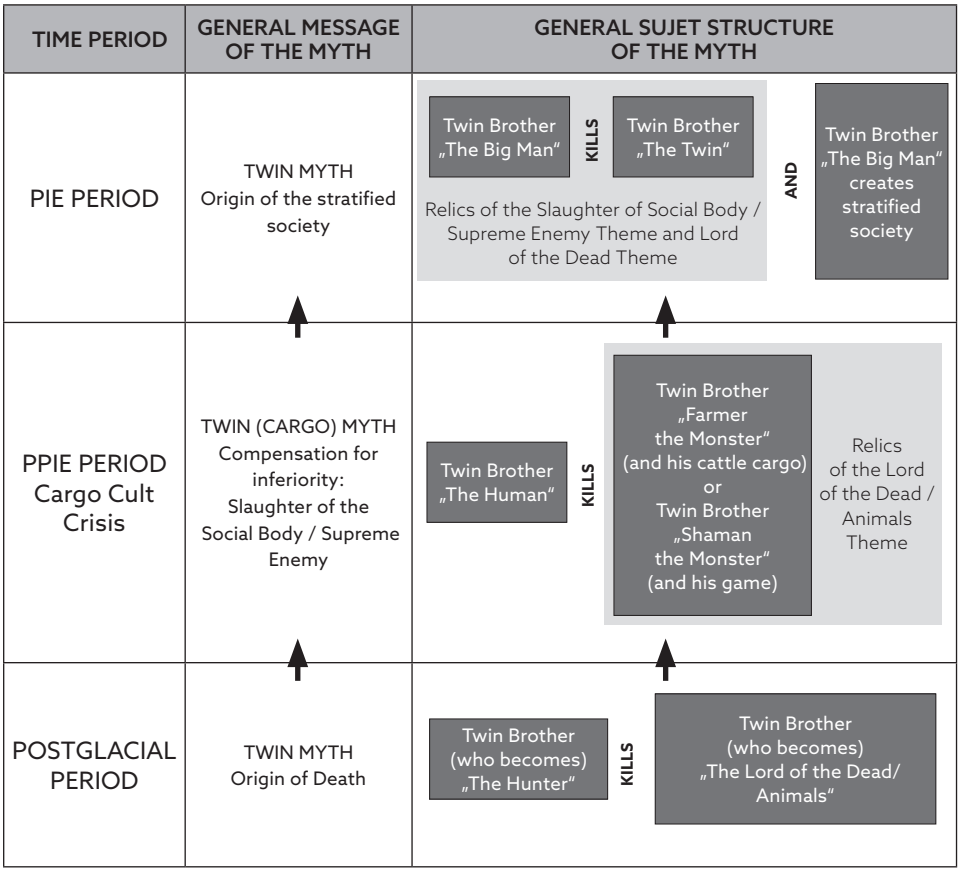

TIME PERIOD
GENERAL MESSAGE OF THE MYTH
GENERAL SUJET STRUCTURE OF THE MYTH
PIE PERIOD
TWIN MYTH
Origin of the stratified society
Twin Brother „The Big Man"
KILLS
Twin Brother „The Twin"
Relics of the Slaughter of Social Body / Supreme Enemy Theme and Lord of the Dead Theme
AND
Twin Brother „The Big Man" creates stratified society
PPIE PERIOD Cargo Cult Crisis
TWIN (CARGO) MYTH
Compensation for inferiority:
Slaughter of the Social Body / Supreme Enemy
Twin Brother „The Human"
KILLS
Twin Brother „Farmer the Monster" (and his cattle cargo) or Twin Brother „Shaman the Monster" (and his game)
Relics of the Lord of the Dead / Animals Theme
POSTGLACIAL PERIOD
TWIN MYTH
Origin of Death
Twin Brother (who becomes) „The Hunter"
KILLS
Twin Brother (who becomes) „The Lord of the Dead/ Animals"

Figure 4

2 WAR AGAINST THE WITCH

The following pages are dedicated to another mythological theme, a military conflict of androcentric elite with an army led by a witch. Though it is textually subtler, less frequently occurring then the former creation matter, it still seems to be attested among different IE traditions significantly enough to be examined in the field of IE mythological studies.

From a certain point of view, it could be seen as a variation on the well-known theme of IE "class conflict"; Indra's quarrel with Aśvinas, Romans' war against Sabines etc. However, these narrations will not be reflected. Even though the activity of elite woman can be recognised there, it is neither of central importance nor of a military nature. Besides, they have been already well examined so there is no need to bother with them once again. Instead, in this chapter I intend to deal with the less famous variations on "class conflict" theme, in which the struggle takes the form of battle or war against the forces led by a demonic woman.

Nevertheless, in spite of (or thanks to?) the narrowed focus of the chapter, some of its conclusions should be useful for interpretation of the class conflict concept as a whole. The military variation seems to contain several of its basic motives, perhaps only hyperbolised, and so more accessible for further examination, through their highly political conceptualisation.

Firstly the theme's possible mezzo-contextual background will be considered. As the myths in question recount the tale of the quarrel between noble warriors and baseborn rebels led by a female witch, evaluated will be especially processes and structures associated with the identity of androcentric military elites and their attitudes towards the members of marginalised social groups.

Then the two layers of texts themselves will be analysed and interpreted along the identified contextual lines. The first one is represented by the trinity of medieval

narrations; the war between Æsir and Vanir of Old Norse tradition, mainly in its *Völuspā* version; the war between Īsung and Hertnið of Scandinavian *Þiðreks saga af Bern* based on medieval Low German oral tradition; and the conflict between Devāḥ and Asurāḥ of Indian *Devī Bʰāgavata Purāna*. The latter group are texts of the 19th century's Slavic folklore tradition; rarely, though systematically occurring Eastern European folktale on the hero's war against the demonic hordes of Baba Jaga, Russian bylina on bogatyrs and she-demon Krivda and several Slavic folklore variations on the Saint George theme. Despite the late date of their recording, all the analysed Slavic examples seem to be archaic in their nature, probably being the latest preservations of ancient IE witch-war theme.

2.1 Mezzo-Context: Indo-European Rulers and Their Villains

Big Man elites in general inhabit the world of strong grid and rather weak group; in the competitive cosmos the individual achievement prevails over the interpersonal bounds. However, as was discussed in the previous chapter, (pre)historical IE populations produced rather an alternative form of Big Man System, known also from other parts of the world, in which the principle of group is still significant. Essential for their existence were the *männerbund* structures; androcentric elite war bands with exclusively constructed group identity.

2.1.1 Expel the Heretics

It can then be assumed that the worldview of ancient IE elites did not always show the open-mindedness otherwise typical for Big Man System. According to Douglas (1996/1970/), in communities with clearly delineated boundaries, i.e. with a strong group, the witchcraft belief, or dualistic cosmogony in general, is often present. All the insiders are seen as the "good guys", while outsiders and strangers are suspicious and dangerous. The archenemy is a witch; someone who pretends to be an insider, but in fact hides the perverted nature of the outside world. As Douglas (1996 /1970/) demonstrated, during the social crisis, this kind of society used to organise witch-cleansing movements. Finding and defeating the common enemy is presented as universal communal cure, the means of social revival.

This tendency of ancient IE elites to adore *us* and to refuse all the others could be only strengthened by their cultic nature, since religious and ritual activities often formed their constitutional backbone. In the previous chapter the cultic nature of early PIE nobility was examined. The importance and central position of priestly *Manu- in IE creation myth or crucial function of a heavenly androcentric

father-like god in the IE dragon-slaying myth could be another demonstration of this situation. The more so that such a state of affairs is far from being culturally exclusive for IE populations. The cultic construction of a group as well as individual identity of AMH males is known in many a culture, regardless of their technological or economical background.

And it looks like in historical times the situation in IE world hardly changed. Whitaker (2011) demonstrated that during the Vedic period the identity of Indo-Aryan war bands and their members were created as well as expressed, first of all, through their religious activities, through ritually demonstrated devotion to manly gods. Almost the same message seems to be brought by some Old Norse sources. Ynglinga Saga, mainly the depiction of Oðinn and his host, could be a fair demonstration of priestly and religiously based identity of early medieval North Germanic elites.

It is possible, therefore, that in the case of the ancient IE elites general witch-hunting tendencies were strengthened by the exclusiveness of cultic thinking itself. For this reason, a villain is not only depicted as a regular stranger, a common outsider who dares to infiltrate. His or her perversity is far more dangerous, because it is rooted in distinct cultic affiliation; he or she is a heretic, follower of blasphemous ideas and hostile demons.

2.1.2 Burn the Witches

The early societies used to be androcentric by their nature.

> In both hunter-gatherer and early agricultural societies, while women contributed substantially to the subsistence of the group by frequently collecting and controlling the essentials for survival, there is no known society in which women, as a group, have had control over the political life of the community, the community interactions with outgrups, or the technology and practice of warfare, witch is arguably the ultimate arbiter of political power. (Sidanius & Pratto 1999:36)

According to Schrijvers (1986), Big Man System communities represented no exception to these universal androcentric tendencies. Their men were supposed to engage in the affairs of politics, war, hunting and sports, and these activities were the direct source of social prestige and influence. Women, on the contrary, were expected to avoid all these manly tasks. They were to nurse children and take care of the household, sick and the old ones and these activities did not improve their social position at all.

It implies a rather delicate situation for a socially ambitious woman in this kind of society, especially in its elite segment. Cultural norms were constructed in or-

der to limit her access to power. It was not appropriate for mothers, sisters, cousins, daughters, wives, concubines or mistresses of influential men to participate in public affairs. (Schrijvers 1985, Schrijvers 1986)

Therefore, the politically ambitious woman was forced to manipulate the social environment through a man, and first of all non-publicly, non-formally; by means of unofficial contracts and donations, emotional blackmail, flirtation etc. *The strength of this power was mainly in its hidden quality, in the capacity subtly to influence the men closest to her* (Schrijvers 1986:18). It was the only sustainable strategy to fulfil, at least to some extent, her political ambitions.

It was only natural to use these non-formal strategies along the lines of the officially accepted patterns of behaviour. A politically ambitious elite woman, according to Schrijvers (1985, 1986), developed her own client network, so-called *shadow network* (see Figure 5). It was woven of unofficial, non-public bonds and operating parallel to the formal public relations maintained by male patrons.

Shadow networks were created, especially of other women, mostly situated alongside other subordinated though still socially significant men. Through the manipulative strategies of all her female clients, she was able to multiply her influence on the elite environment; her dominant man was influenced (consciously and openly) by his official male clients, who were in turn influenced confidently

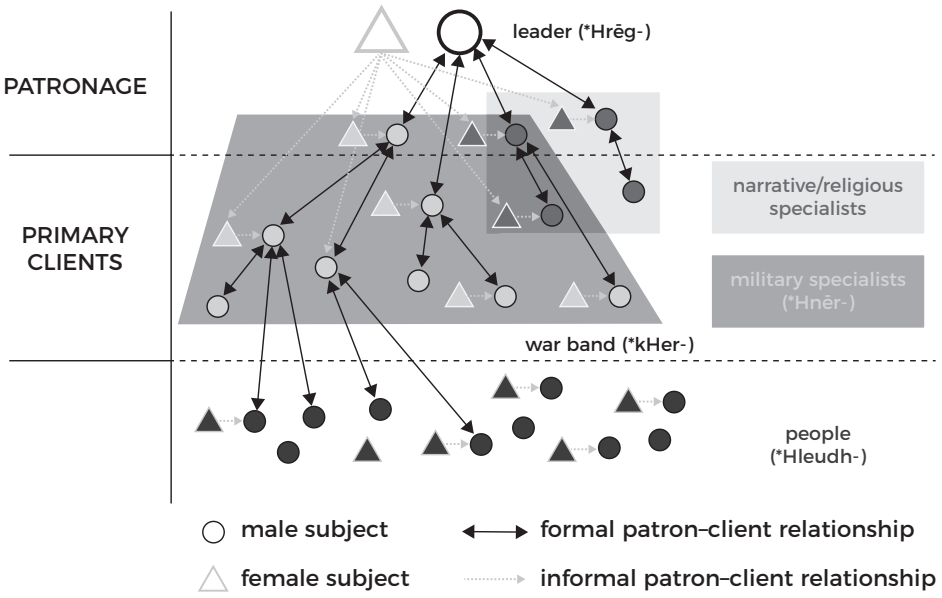


Figure 5

(unconsciously) by their women. However, also some elite men themselves, especially those less powerful, could join shadow network with the prospect of possible improvement of their social position in an alternative way (Schrijvers 1986).

This kind of behaviour occurred cross-culturally (Schrijvers 1985, Schrijvers 1986). Probably it was as necessary as a common response to the widespread phenomenon of androcentric organisation of (pre)historic societies. Politically ambitious women all around the world, facing the same recurrently appearing restrictions, had no other choice than the way of shadow network.

Alongside the social stimuli, also something like "woman's nature" supported, perhaps, occurrence of these behavioral patterns. Anthropological research suggests that women generally exceed men in their empathy, their ability to compute chains of hypothetical intentions of persons (levels of intentionality) operating in their social environment (Dunbar 2004). Thus, women seem to be suited better than men to realize hidden manipulative strategies and to build shadow networks.

As for the IE *männerbund* elites, their androcentric nature was highly likely. They represented an example of a social environment which openly discriminated women, distrusting and sanctioning their official social activities. For this reason, any socially ambitious woman in an IE elite environment could be easily considered a threat to its fluent operation.

And here can be found other possible impulses to construct the cultural representation of a villain. It is someone who, lurking in the shadows for an opportunity, builds the non-public alliances and schemes the secret plots against the men of power. The perverted nature of an infiltrated heretic is only naturally intensified by the emphasis on the confidentiality and unfairness of performed deeds. All the social experience, as well as cultural stereotypes, then nominate woman, being the typical provider of shadow network, to be one of the hottest candidates for the "evil guy" in folklore narratives.

And again, this aspect is well in accord with the witch-hunting and crusading sentiments discussed above. The villain then could be depicted as a female witch. She is close to the elite environment by her power as well as location or origin, but actually dwells on the periphery and performs foreign, blasphemous, unofficial non-manly activities – in folklore texts conceptualised as cowardly scheming, dark magic, witchcraft etc.

2.1.3 Fight the Rebels

As was discussed in the previous chapter, a Big Man System usually produced a dually stratified society. There existed a cream of shiny and self-confident priests and warriors; pragmatic and formalistic self-made men obsessed with personal

success and fame. And under their reign were situated masses of undifferentiated people, who often felt disintegrated, neglected and oppressed by their rulers and therefore yearned for an alternative, better world. And these attitudes and feelings represented a permanent source of social tension. The elite was prone to see their commoners as losers and incompetent daydreamers while commoners tended to see their lords as the reckless formalistic snobs. Douglas describes and explains the masses' disappointment in the following passage, which is, by the way, fairly in accord with the mentioned examples describing historical reality in Tacitus's Germania or Caesar's Galia.

> The unsuccessful may find themselves forced to move from leader to leader in the attempt to get a better deal and as they move they break their social ties. Or they find themselves unable to move, located with other people who also would like to move but cannot, and with whom they form an undifferentiated mass. The delicate differentiations by which they structure their relations with each other are of no significance to the people who operate the rules against them. Although they themselves discriminate the claims of age, sex, relationship, these distinctions make no difference to the impersonal principles which ruthlessly separate them or force them to huddle together. What they experience is a failure of other people to recognize their claims as persons. Persons in control behave to them mechanically and treat them as if they were objects. This, I suggest, is the experience which has always predisposed to the millennial cult... (Douglas 1996 /1970/:153-4)

According to Douglas (1996 /1970/), an ultimate outcome of commoners' restlessness, particularly in the time of the social crisis, was a millennial movement. As soon as the power of an elite had weakened, whether because of the change in economic conditions induced by environmental factors or due to the power struggles, masses in their general disappointment (strengthened by decreasing well-being due to the system's decline) felt their chance to eliminate supposed originators of all their frustration. And so previously marginalised social entities, with their alternative hierarchies and worldviews now started to gain the upper hand. Leaders of millennial cults preach to refuse the grid, the external ritualism and formalism of obsolete rulers. They claim to replace it by opposite values, by the ideas of an all-embracing borderless group - egalitarian solidarity, emotionality, the intimacy of inner experience. *Religion of ecstasy* gains the upper hand over the *religion of control* (Douglas 1996 /1970/:79).

One of the most important among all the social groups (slaves, serfs, base-born commoners, women) which tended to join the millennial rebellions with their cults of alternative, non-ritualistic, inner and emotional experience, were women.

> It is no accident that women so often form the main membership of possession cults. The social division of labour involves women less deeply than their menfolk in the central institutions—political, legal, administrative, etc.—of their society. ...their social responsibilities are more confined to the domestic range. The decisions they take do not have repercussions on a very wide range of institutions. The web of their social life, though it may tie them down effectively enough, is of a looser texture. ... This is the social condition they share with slaves and serfs. ... A small setback can harm them more irrevocably than those whose more complex links give a better chance of recovery. Their options are few. They experience strong grid. Therefore they are susceptible to religious movements which celebrate this [inner, ecstatic, non-ritualistic] experience. Unlike those who have internalized the classifications of society and who accept its pressures as aids to realizing the meanings they afford, these classes are peripheral. They express their spiritual independence in the predicted way, by shaggier, more bizarre appearance, and more ready abandonment of control. (Douglas 1996 /1970/:154; brackets added)

Thus, among all the potentially rioting "losers", from the point of view of masculine elite women appeared to be one of the most dangerous elements. Serfs and lowborn ones suffered the restrictions only due to their culturally defined status. Although it was often determined biologically by birth, still it was changeable under certain conditions. Women, however, were discriminated against due to their biological characteristic of sex, or corresponding gender limitations to be more specific. And even though gender restrictions were also culturally constructed by their nature, still their basic prerequisite – sex – was established biologically and could not be changed in any way.

And so, even if women were formal members of the highest rank, no matter if their position was ascribed (by birth) or achieved (by marriage or as concubines), their frustration did not ease. Quite the contrary, it was strengthened by the fact that their physical location in society did not correspond to their social opportunities. Unlike the slaves or commoners, they dwelled in the centre of social life, surrounded by power, often being educated and well trained. They were full of untapped potential, yet still forbidden to touch the power flowing around. There were only duties, the oppression of the grid, but no satisfaction, no way to use the grid like their male counterparts did. No wonder then that particularly *the females of the rich and privileged classes,... the throng of well-to-do women ... so often predominate*d in alternative religious movements (Douglas 1996 /1970/:90). Worlds and hierarchies of alternative communities were a good opportunity to escape the discriminative fatality of her sex.

All these moments represent another set of reasons to depict the traditional villain as a scheming witch, a woman bewitching the restless masses and using their power against the current system and its rulers.

2.2 The Texts

In sections below the texts of different IE speaking traditions, which probably mirror the aforementioned mezzo-contextual processes, will be examined. Their brief introduction will be followed by an attempt to analyse significant contextual aspects, all in order to identify possible specificities of each text. Subsequently they will be textually analysed and anthropologically and comparatively interpreted. At the very end of the chapter I will present the comparative conclusive IE interpretation of witch-war theme.

2.2.1 *Æsir* and *Vanir*

A narration on these two groups of Norse deities and their military conflict is known via several sources. The two of them, medieval Icelandic manuscripts Codex Regius (end of 13th century) and Hauksbōk (first third of 14th century) provide it in a poetic form, as a part of famous eddaic song Völuspā (Prophecy of the Seeress).

The former one is anonymous, found by the bishop of Skālholt in the middle of 17th century and then sent as a gift to King Frederic III (hence the name Codex Regius or Konungsbōk). Nothing is known about its earlier history. Völuspā has a prominent position here, being the first item of this manuscript (Nordal 1978:1).

The latter one is assumed to be written or redacted, by Haukr Erlendsson (hence the name Hauksbōk), a leading politician of Iceland and later of the Norwegian Kingdom. However, the poem seems to be a later addition, made after Hauk's death and written by the same scribe who wrote another important eddaic mythological manuscript Codex Wormianus (Nordal 1978:1).

Prosaic versions are included in the two works of Snorri Sturluson (first half of 13th century), another politically influential man of Iceland. A brief one can be found in Skaldskaparmāl (Language of Poetry) and rather extensive reworking in Heimskringla (Circle of the World), or in its opening part called Ynglinga saga to be more specific. Skaldskaparmāl is preserved in various medieval, mostly Icelandic manuscripts, in Codex Regius and Codex Wormianus as well, while the latter is preserved in a single written record.

Both of them seem to be related to the older Völuspā tradition. However, the text of Skaldskaparmāl is rather aimed on post-war events while in the case of Heimskringla the strong euhemerization of the story raises certain doubts about the measure and nature of its supposed relation to older tradition. For all these reasons, in the following analysis the versified Völuspā versions is kept in my primary focus and the prosaic reflections are taken into account only occasionally.

No direct information about the background of the poem, circumstances of its oral emergence and transmission, are available. This kind of knowledge can be only inferred from the analysis of the poem's text and its comparison to other contemporary Old Norse literary heritage. Some additional, and only extra-textual information, provides the "curriculum vitae" of the manuscripts in question as well as character and career of their authors.

As for the language of Völuspā, its uniqueness seems to be evident. As Nordal demonstrated (1970-73), it lacks a certain rudeness and straightness of other Eddaic mythological poems. It is characterised by a sophisticated style; use of opening invocation, refrains, elaborated poetic images. Difference lies also in the overall mood, mainly the presence of solemn existential fatality. All these features make it closer to skaldic poetry or to the heroic poems of Poetic Edda.

This textural as well as textual relatedness of Völuspā to the courtly Scandinavian environment of the Viking Age is noteworthy. On the other hand, there is also a group of language features which bear witness to its origin in Iceland (Nordal 1970-73). This indication of poem's mixed ancestry supports the assumption about its skaldic background. According to Hollander (1968:5), it was typical for the offspring of influential Icelandic families to strive for a skaldic career overseas, especially in higher social strata of continental Scandinavian areas, often as a courtly poet and adviser of a local ruler.

Perhaps the author of the poem was an Icelandic skald or even the Law speaker, like Snorri or Haukr, i.e. the head of regional administration, legislature (Head of the Thing) and judiciary (Bjørshol 2011, Derry 1979:56). The main task of Law speakers was to memorise and proclaim the traditional law. They were recruited among *goði*, the official Thing representatives of certain population bodies. The etymology of their label, its relation to the gt. *gudja* 'priest', seems to indicate also their religious function, at least originally (Aðalsteinsson 1998). Moreover, these men traditionally operated overseas, being familiar with higher social strata of continental Scandinavian areas.

Thus the preservation of the story in the manuscript produced by the Law speakers themselves suggests the elite as well as rather traditional origin of Völuspā. Even in the case of the Hauksbōk its later addition does not seem to neglect this assumption. On the contrary, Codex Wormianus, another product of Hauksbōk's editor, contains prominent pieces of high Norse mythology; parts of Snorri's Prose Edda and the single preserved exemplar of Rīgsþula, an elitist text depicting the warlike nobles and keepers of the heathen tradition (Rīgr) on the most prominent social position in traditionally hierarchal society. It can be then assumed, that the scribe who preserved Völuspā of the Hauksbōk was also close to the traditional elite environment, its ideas and cultural patterns.

Anyway, regardless of possible political background, the author of Völuspā seems to be an open-minded educated man, someone who had knowledge of

classical Christian culture though was still familiar with (or even believing in) native Norse tradition. According to Nordal (1970-73), Völuspā could then be the syncretic response to apocalyptic moods present in the Christian world at the turn of the millennium. Perhaps it was an attempt of a heathen educated in a Christian environment to produce a syncretic theology of millennial hope. Nonetheless, there are also other, less speculative hints (comparison to other related works for instance; Nordal 1970-73) to assume an origin of Völuspā about the year 1000.

A sustainable interpretation of the poem's general framework was proposed by Nordal (1970-73). The author of Völuspā puts all the text into the mouth of the supernaturally old and powerful völva (Seeress), who in an ecstatic trance performs the prophetic song to Ōðinn and his retinue. She starts with a call for silence and attention in a skaldic manner. Apart some retrospective insertion in the storyline, in general it can be said that in the first half of her monologue she reveals the events of the past, probably to prove the enormity of her knowledge. In the latter half she prophesies the future fate of gods and men.

The story of the war between Æsir and Vanir is situated in the past. She depicts it as the first war in the world, caused by the activity of a *travelling spaewife* (Nordal 1970-73:97) called Gullveig, and nick-named Heiðr, of the Vanir. Noble and priestly Æsir feel insulted and threatened by the social rise of this baseborn witch and her cult. Since she is the leader of rebellion, first they try to eliminate her personally, by burning her to death. They fail, however, probably due to her magical regenerative power. Therefore warlike Æsir decides to destroy the movement as a whole by military force, but their troops encountered extraordinarily the stiff resistance of otherwise peaceful Vanir. Again, the strongly expected Blitzkrieg victory seems to be delayed by the regenerative magic of their opponents.

The vain war ends without a winner, as Skaldskaparmāl and Ynglinga Saga inform. The result of the peace negotiations is, among other things, the exchange of "hostages". Most important characters of the Vanir, Njörðr and his twin children Freyr and Freya, are accepted as a genuine part of the noble Æsir. There exists widespread speculation, that Freya and Gullveig – Heiðr is the same person. However, regardless of a certain level of its legitimacy, this connection remains uncertain.

As for the very literary text of this episode, there is no significant divergence between Hauksbōk and Konungsbōk versions, except the case of a single word substitution, signified with italics in the following quotation. For this reason the normalised Codex Regius based edition (Vøluspá 1978) is sufficient to demonstrate the original manuscript shape of the episode.

θat man hon folkvīg fyrst ī heimi,
er Gullveigu geirum studdu
ok ī höll Hārs hāna brendu –
þrysvar brendu þrysvar borna,
opt, ōsialdan – þō hon enn lifir.
(Vøluspá 1978:42)

She remembers that war of people, the first in the world,
when Gullveig with spears they stubbed
and in the hall of the Grey One they burnt her,
thrice they burnt her, thrice she was born,
often and again, yet still she lives.

Heiði hāna hētu hvars til hūsa kom,
völu velspā, vitti hon ganda.
Seið hon kunni, seið hon leikinn,
æ var hon angan illrar *brūðar / þjōðar*.
(Vøluspá 1978:44)

The Bright One they called her wherever she came to the houses,
a seeress of good prophecy, she conjured with wand;
seiðr she knew, with seiðr she gambled,
always the delight of the wicked *brides / people*.

θā gengu regin öll ā rökstōla,
ginnheilög goð, ok um þat gættuz:
hvārt skyldu æsir afrāð gjalda
eða skyldu goðin öll gildi eiga.
(Vøluspá 1978:46)

Then all the rulers went to council seats,
the all-holy gods, and contemplated thus,
whether should Æsir pay the tribute
or all the gods should the tribute receive.

Fleygði Ōðinn ok ī folk um skaut –
þat var enn folkvīg fyrst ī heimi;
brotinn var borðveggr borgar Āsa,
knāttu vanir vīgspā völlu sporna.

(Vøluspá 1978:47)

Ōðinn hurled, into the ranks he threw,
that was the war of people the very first in the world;
breached was the wooden wall of Æsir's stronghold,
Vanir with their war-magic reborn at the battlefield.

Like in some other places of the poem, völva speaks of herself in the 3rd person (Nordal 1970-73). In the first stanza of the quoted sequence, and the twenty-first stanza of the poem according the Codex Regius redaction, the unsuccessful attempt to burn the witch Gullveig ('Power of Gold'; Vøluspá 1978:42) to death is described. The execution takes place in *Höll Hārs*, i.e. in the 'Hall of the Grey One', whereas *Hārr*, the 'Grey One', is heiti for Ōðinn. It can be inferred then that Æsir themselves were the executors.

In the second stanza of the quoted sequence the audience is informed about the person and life of the witch; her nickname Heiðr ('The Bright One'; common name for völva in other sources; Vøluspá 1978:44), her career of traveling sorceress, the common popularity of her magical practice, *seiðr*, as well as her habit of equipping herself with *gandr*, a wand, probably as a marker and instrument of her profession.

As for the proponents of her cult, both sources slightly differ in this regard. In Hauksbōk they are labelled as *brūðar*, 'young wives', 'ladies' or 'brides', while in Codex Regius they are referred as *þjōðar*, 'people(s)', 'tribes', or generally essentialised groups of people. Anyway, regardless of this variation, her fans are depicted as *illrar*, 'wicked', 'dirty' or 'ugly ones'. It indicates the background idea of their social marginality (/recently married/ woman, the wicked one) as well as their mass character (women, people(s)).

According to Nordal (Vøluspá:23-24,44-45), the collocation *illrar brūðar* refers directly to the *þrjār ...þursa meyjar*, 'three giant-maidens' of the eighth stanza of the poem, whose appearance among the Æsir brought quarrels, most likely the lust for gold, and ended the golden age of the world. This interpretation seems sustainable (note the meaning of the witch's name Gullveig), particularly if one would accept another sustainable assumption (Vøluspá 1978:23-24) about the later or misplaced addition of all the text between the eighth and the twenty-first stanza of the Codex Regius redaction. On the other hand, the variant *illrar þjōðar* rather suggests a more general meaning of the peripheral social groups proposed above.

In the third stanza of the sequence the social jealousy of Æsir is depicted. They hold council about how to deal with the rise of an alternative power; whether to accept it (pay tribute) or subjugate it (receive tribute).

In the final stanza of the sequence the consequences of their decision for the latter option are described; Æsir's unsuccessful war against the Vanir. Even the magical spear of Ōðinn, which is referred to in the first line, is not powerful enough to break the enemies' ranks. The final line is crucial as to comprehend the source of Æsir's causalities. The compound word in nominative plural form *vīgspā*, where *vīg* is the neuter noun meaning 'fight', 'battle' or war and *spā* is the feminine noun translated as 'prophecy', is traditionally translated as the 'war-spell' or 'battle-magic' (Vøluspá 1978:47-48; Dronke 1997:43).

Another important moment here is the interpretation of the collocation *völlu sporna*; where *völlu* is the accusative plural of the masculine noun *völlr*, 'level', 'ground' or 'plain' and *sporna* is the infinitive of the verb meaning 'spurn', 'tread upon'. According to Nordal (Vøluspá 1978:48) it should be read (in connection with *knáttu*, 'could') as 'tread'/'walked over the (battle)field', i.e. it simply refers to marching armies of Vanir. According to Dronke's interpretation (1997:42-43), however, the collocation means 'kicking the ground' and it is a metaphor for birth, used also in other Norse sources, referring to the typical behaviour of a newborn baby. Therefore, especially in connection with *vīgspā*, it all makes reference to Vanir's resurrective magic practised on the battlefield. This kind of interpretation seems to be in accordance with the general ideology of the episode. The Vanir are unbreakable just because of their death-preventing regenerative magic; in the case of their leader as well as their rank-and-file warriors.

This episode seems to be a fair folklore reflection of the social processes considered above; mainly the crisis tension between rulers and their subordinated masses resulting in the witch-hunting solution.

The supposed audience of the tale seems to be obvious. Its narrator stands on the side of exclusively organised masculine militaristic elite. Naturalising the discussed model of social behaviour by transferring it into the supernatural world, the world of gods, he demonstrates the idea of the elite's rightful struggle for their traditional social domination. From the socio-anthropological point of view, the poet depicts the elite's typical response to the social crisis; a witch-cleansing movement organised in order to renew the traditional social order. The physical elimination of the perverted witch is believed to be the cure to a common disorder.

Perversity of all the world of the witch is obvious. Opponents are depicted as anything but the circle of noble warriors. They are expected to be ill-suited for the battlefield, they are wicked and numerous, they are followers of inappropriate cultic practices and, to make their inappropriateness final, under the command of a woman.

It is possible, that the presented concept of Heiðr cult refers to the real folklore representations similar to those attested in folk belief of German Europe during the high and late medieval period. According to Ginsburg (1992:40), the earliest 10th century account is from Regino of Prüm. This man speaks against the superstitious women, who claim they join the night raids of Diana, the *pagan goddess*.

This is the first of the several accounts referring to the existence of popular and complex folk belief. Its core is the following: during certain nights of the year certain women are able to enter a sleep trance, in which their spirit flies to the gatherings under the command of the supernatural female being called Diana, Abundia, Satia, Holda, Frau Precht, etc. For random uninvolved people the accidental encounters with these gatherings often resulted in contradictory outcomes, especially when the phenomenon took the form of a *wild hunt* (Perchta as a leader of the dangerous host of untimely dead), which suggests rather its ambivalent reputation.

Ginsburg (1992) also demonstrated the connection of this "cult" with petty prosperity magic as well as communication with the world beyond. It was believed that participating women were allowed to see the hidden treasures or communicate hidden information with the dead ones. Thus, by its social localisation (lower strata, women) as well as overall character (ecstasy, prosperity, necromantia), this German medieval folklore concept seems to be similar to Heiðr cult described in Völuspā.

Note that even the attitude of the contemporary priestly elites corresponded with the view of the Æsir. As Ginzburg showed (1992), these superstitions soon became an object of inquisition, being rather forcibly interpreted along the lines of the standard black Sabbath patterns. It can be assumed then, that eddaic reference to the Heiðr cult mirrors the real folklore patterns, which circulated especially among the lower strata of ancient Germanic societies, Scandinavian as well as continental.

So the depiction of the crisis rebellion in Völuspā is probably based on popular folklore complex of the folk goddess cult, though narratively hyperbolised according to the poem's ideological demands. From the anthropological point of view, it refers to a crisis situation, in which folk are massively attracted towards the alternative, previously marginalised ideology and its representatives. Ecstatic and prophetic practices, traditionally ascribed to a few eccentric individuals on the periphery of society, most often women, now gain common popularity. Non-formal powers of the world beyond, magic of prosperity, (re)birth and regeneration, being an opposition to formal, military and priestly activities, are emphasized. Alternative power structures are built, using those alternative ideas as well as the groups of population previously deprived of power – especially women.

The hierarchy legitimising message of the narrative is communicated mainly through its happy all-satisfying ending. Despite the rulers' rather unsuccessful

crusade, they remain in their positions. The advent of the witch's millennium, the replacement of the traditional elites, is prevented. Millennialistic disorder is eased and the cooperative hierarchy is re-established and confirmed. Previously rioting commoners are appeased by the formal admittance, mainly through the honour and pledge shown to their beliefs and representatives, of their importance for the society. To put it in other words: the witch-cleansing movement prevails but the witch survives.

Hence the educative message of the narrative. It verbalises the typical crisis situation in the society, its possible consequences as well as the only solution. Cooperative hierarchy is a must. Commoners are required to tolerate a certain measure of oppression while the elite tolerates a certain amount of their heresy.

The power of this vision is probably strengthened by the fact, that for the conceptualisation of both sides it uses the patterns of their own self-identification. It is built out of the themes significant for real social and folklore life. And what is more, both their viewpoints are mutually interwoven. Genuine witch-cleansing ideology of elites and traditional and complex goddess cult of the masses are combined in one story, being as impressive as socially constructive and educative. Even the fact that the tale stands slightly on the side of rulers makes it in accord with their needs as well as with their social dominance in real life. Perhaps this is the source of the story's power. The reason of its successful diachronic and synchronic transmission is rooted just in its contextual authenticity. The tale is prone to be relevant as well as believable to any member of society, regardless of his or her social rank.

Note that the most informative among all its preserved variants, that is in Völuspā, is put in to the mouth of the witch herself, i.e. one of the archetypal enemies, even according to the text itself, of the primary supposed elite audience. Perhaps the social experience itself urged the author to put the text containing several heretic themes, like witchcraft (sorcery behind success of Vanir's rebellion) and millennialism (resurrection of an ideal world after Ragnarök), into the mouth of its traditional proponent. Perhaps it would be inappropriate for a noble skald or priest to deal, at least directly and openly, with this kind of knowledge. Whereas the Ragnarök matter is well in accord with pragmatism and heroic fatalism of Big Man System elites, millennial hope of a better world after Ragnarök is typical rather for their counterparts, non-elite masses and especially ostracised groups and individuals among them.

Apart from the discussed example of Æsir-Vanir war, there are other hints for the existence of alternative worldviews coexisting with official elite ideology and associated with the "world of women" in ancient North Germanic society. In the Codex Regius' heroic poem Helgakviða Hundingsbana II (The Second Lay on Helgi Hundingsbane) it is said:

> Þat var trúa i forneskju, at menn væri endrbornir, en þat er nú kölluð kerlingavilla. (De Gamle Eddadigte 1932:220)
>
> It was believed in old times, that people were born again, but that is now called old wives' folly.

Instead of high and elaborated Valhalla-Hell concept, where the personal eschatology is associated with masculine lifestyle of feasting and fighting (Valhalla) or generally waiting for the final battle (Valhalla, Hell) and the idea of the future worldly life is irrelevant, here a competing theme of eschatological hope for future reincarnation is presented. And once again, the idea of resurrection/rebirth is literary contextualised as socially marginal (obsolete lore, old wives' folly), just like in the case of Völuspā (vision and deeds associated with feminine witchcraft).

Perhaps it is not by accident that just the Helgakviða Hundingsbana II is the medium of this alternative non-masculine eschatology. Comparing to the two other songs of the Codex Regius' Helgi cycle, in this poem the matters of warfare are less important. The depictions of battles, for instance, which are present in Helgakviða Hundingsbana I, are in this second variant of Helgi struggle against the king Hunding omitted. On the contrary, emphasis is put on the matters of love between man and woman; lament of a maid for her dead beloved one, his temporal return from beyond the grave to talk to each other for a last time as well as the aforementioned motif of hope of living together in lovers' future incarnation. These passages are also typical for their highly elaborated poetic language. Thus, as these sophisticated lines bring the romance of death-defeating love rather than themes of warfare, military duty and camaraderie, it can be assumed, that it was mainly intended for the courtly female audience.

But perhaps the feminine literary contextualisation of witch-war theme (as well as the whole Völuspā prophesy) has also something to do with possible Christian background of the Völuspā poet. Still being familiar with heathen tradition, yet slightly remote from it because of his Christian background, perhaps in order to bring the idea of millennial hope it seemed not inappropriate to the Christianised author of Völuspā to combine originally competing pre-Christian concepts.

2.2.2 *Īsung* and *Hertnið*

Another significant representative of witch-war theme is the high medieval tale of the war between king Īsung and king Hertnið, which can be found in Þiðreks saga af Bern. This source was written in 13th century at the court of the Norwegian kingdom (Haymes & Samples 1996:71). Nevertheless, language and geographical origin, as well as the title saga, represents the only (and rather formal) points of its relation

to the Norse tradition. Þiðreks saga is a large compendium of heroic matters mostly based on the high medieval German tradition of the hero Dietrich of Bern.

The saga's textual dependence on narratives of the German Dietrich cycle and Niebelungen cycle, geographical references as well as several direct mentions in the text, all suggest its affiliation to the contemporary Low German narrative tradition of Northern Germany. It is not clear whether it was composed using the literary sources or orally transmitted narratives. The direct mentions in the text itself (see also the quoted sequence below) speak, nonetheless, for the latter possibility. The very phenomenon of export of north German narrative matters to the Scandinavian environment was probably connected with the rising power of Hanseatic League, the spread of its merchants out of the epicentre in the north German area (Haymes & Samples 1996:71).

Thus the conditions for transmission of heroic matters seemed to be friendly here, as certain militaristic and masculine character of hanseatic guilds can be assumed (Benveniste 1973:63-64). And hardly a more fertile environment for further preservation of German medieval epos performed on board hanseatic ships could be found, than the Scandinavian court used to the skaldic performances and solemn saga tradition.

Among the side episodes of the main storyline of the Þiðreks saga the bitter war between King Īsung of Bertangaland (Britain) and King Hertnið of Wilkinaland (perhaps some north-eastern territory of Europe) can be found.

Īsung, being a friend and ally to the main saga hero, is a "good guy" of the episode. On the other side, Hertnið represents rather a "dark side"; he stands against the Þiðrek's coalition, without any formal declaration initiates a marauding war on Īsung and is married to the dreaded eastern witch Ostasia.

> Hertnið konungr var ríkr maðr í Vilkinalandi ok mikill höfðingi fyrir allra hluta sakir. Hann er allra kappa mestr. Hans kona var Ostasia, dóttir Runa konungs af Austrríki. Hennar stjúpmóðir var svá fjölkunnig, at hún fyrirgerði henni í barneskju ok kastaði til hennar sinni fjölkynngi, svá at hún er nú jafnkunnig sem fyrir henni var hennar stjúpmóðir. Ostasia er eigi at síðr allra kvenna vænst ok vitrast, ok ærit er hún illgjörn. Hertnið konungr ann henni mikit.
>
> Í þenna tíma ræðr Bertangalandi Ísungr konungr inn sterki með sínum sonum. Hann er mikill óvinr Hertniðs konungs ok hefir veitt mikit lið jafnan Attila konungi ok gert margt illt Vilkinamönnum. Hertnið konungr vildi þess gjarnan hefna, er drepinn var Ósantrix konungr, hans föðurbróðir, fyrst Attila konungi eða Þiðreki konungi ok þar næst Ísungi konungi, er inn þriði var inn mesti höfuðsmaðr at drápi Ósantrix konungs.
>
> Nú safnar Hertnið konungr saman her miklum ok ferr með herinn, til þess er hann kemr í Bertangaland í ríki Ísungs konungs. Þar brennir hann ok drepr menn ok tekr mikit fé. Ísungr konungr ok hans synir sitja í Bertangaborg ok verða ekki við varir, hvat Hertnið konungr hefir gert. Ok þá er Hertnið konungr hefir fengit svá mikit

herfang ok svá víða farit sem hann vildi í Bertangalandi, ferr hann heim aftr ok hefir haldit öllum sínum mönnum.

(Þiðreks saga af Bern 1962:392-393)

King Hertnið was a powerful man of Wilkinaland and a great leader in every way. He was the best of all the warriors. His wife was Ostasia, the daughter of king Runa of Eastern Empire. Her stepmother was a very potent sorceress; filling her childhood with spells she bestowed all her witchcraft upon her and so Ostasia was as good in witchcraft as her stepmother. Ostasia was the wisest and most beautiful of all the women but very malicious as well. King Hertnið loved her much.
At this time king Īsung the Strong ruled in Bertangaland with his sons. He was a great enemy of King Hertnið and had helped King Attila a lot and caused a lot of pain to men of Vilkinaland. And King Hertnið wanted revenge for the death of King Osantrix, his uncle, first on king Attila but also on King Þiðrek and King Īsung, as he was the third ruling man when King Osantrix was killed.
Now King Hertnið assembled a large army and marched with it until he came into Bertangaland, the king Īsung's kingdom. There he burned, killed and took a lot of wealth. Īsung and his sons dwelt in Bertangaland Castle and were not aware of what King Hertnið's was doing. And when King Hertnið plundered enough and gathered sufficient booty, he went home and kept all his men at hand.

Īsung answers with a war campaign and successfully invades the Wilkinaland, supported with a couple of young champions of Þiðrek's court, Þēttleif the Dane and Fasold the Proud.

Ísungr konungr ok hans synir spyrja, hvat gert hefir Hertnið konungr af Vilkinalandi, er þeira var inn mesti óvinr. Þeir safna her um allt sitt ríki, ok ferr eftir Hertnið konungi ok vilja hefna sín. Hann sendir orð sínum inum góða vin, Þéttleif danska, ok öðrum manni, Fasold stolza. Þeir verðast við vel orðsendingina ok fara með sínum mönnum til móts við Ísung konung ok koma nú allir saman í Vilkinaland ok brenna þar mörg heröð ok stór ok drepa margan mann. Fyrir þeim flýr allt, þar sem þeir fara. Engi maðr er svá djarfr, at þori at skjóta einu spjóti móti gegn þeim. Alk flýr, sumt á mörkina, sumt á skip ok sumt á heiðar óbyggðar. Sumir flýja til Hertniðs konungs ok segja honum, at kominn er í hans ríki Ísungr konungr af Bertangalandi með sína sonu ok þar er með honum Þéttleifr danski ok Fasold stolzi ok alls hafa þeir fimm þúsundrað hermanna ok engi fylking stendr fyrir þeim ok engi kappi þorir at bíða þeira.

(Þiðreks saga af Bern 1962:393)

King Īsung and his sons heard what King Hertnið of Vilkinaland, their greatest enemy, had done. They assembled an army from their entire kingdom, and went for Hertnið

and wanted revenge. Īsung sent word to his good friend, Þēttleif the Dane, and another man, Fasold the Proud. They received the message well and went with their men to meet King Īsung and then all together went in Vilkinaland and burned many a large area and killed many a man. And everyone was fleeing, wherever they came. No man was bold enough to throw a spear against them. All fled, some into the woods, some to ships and some in to the unpopulated moors. And some fled to King Hertnið and told him that King Īsung of Bertangaland and his sons had come into his kingdom, and Þēttleif the Dane and Fasold the Proud are with them, and they have five thousand warriors and that no army can stand against them and that no warriors dare to stop and wait for them.

Hertnið gathers an army for an ultimate battle. Ostasia, using her magic wand, assembles secretly the hordes of wild as well as supernatural beasts.

Hér eftir safnast saman með Hertnið konungi mikill herr. Ok hans kona Ostasia ferr út ok hrærði sinn gand. Þat köllum vér, at hún færi at seiða, svá sem gert var í fomeskju, at fjölkunngar konur, þær er vér köllum völur, skyldu seiða honum seið. Svá mikit gerði hún af sér í fjölkynngi ok trollskap, at hún seiddi til sín margs konar dýr, leóna ok björnu ok flugdreka stóra. Hún tamdi þá alla, þar til at þeir hlýddu henni ok hún mátti vísa þeim á hendr sínum óvinum. Svá segir í kvæðum þýðerskum, at hennar herr væri líkr fjöndum sjálfum. Flún sjálf var ok sem einn flugdreki.

(Þiðreks saga af Bern 1962:394)

Then king Hertnið gathered a large army. And Ostasia, his wife, went out and waved her magic wand. We would say that she practiced seið, as it was done in ancient times by women skilled in magic we used to call *völur*. So much she practiced seið and witchery that she conjured up many kinds of animals: lions, bears and large flying dragons. She tamed them all so they obeyed her and she could send them to attack the enemies. It is said in German songs, that her army was like the devil himself. She herself was like a flying dragon.

Īsung has the upper hand in battle and his victory seems to be within reach. Yet Ostasia appears, leading her demonic hordes to Hertnið's aid.

Ísungr konungr ok hans synir með sín merki ganga hart fram ok drepa margan mann, höggva á tvær hliðar sér hesta ok menn, ok fyrir þeim fellr herrinn, allt þar sem þeir kómu fram. Í öðrum stað ríðr fram Þéttleifr danski með sína fylking. Hann veitir ok mörgum manni bana, ok fyrir honum standast ekki Vilkinamenn. Ok ina þriðju fylking hefir Fasold stolzi. Hann berst þenna dag af miklu kappi ok skilr margan mann við sinn hest, svá at aldri sá sik síðan. Vilkinamenn falla í þeiri orrostu, svá sem þá er akr er skorinn.

Í þessu bili kemr til Ostasia með sína sveit, þá er hún hefir saman dregit af fjölkynngi. Drekarnir flugu yfir herinn ok veita mönnum bana með klóm sínum ok með munni, ok leónar berjast ok bíta ok slíkt sama birnir, ok sjálf Ostasia flýgr sem dreki yfir herinum ok pínir til öll dýr ok alla dreka at berjast.

(Þiðreks saga af Bern 1962:394-395)

King Īsung and his sons went hard forward with their standard and killed many a man, they cut in two pieces both horses and men and the army fell away in front of them as they moved forward. At another place Þēttleif the Dane rode forward with his retinue. He was a bane for a lot of men and no Vilkinas stood against him. The third host was of Fasold the Proud. That day he fought with great bravery and many a man he parted from their horses, so they never saw each other again. Men of Vilkinaland fell in this battle as a field being mowed.

At this moment came Ostasia with her flock gathered through her witchcraft. Dragons flew over the army and with their claws and mouths attacked the men fatally, lions and bears fought and bit. And Ostasia herself flew like a dragon over the flock and commanded all the animals and all the dragons to fight.

Īsung, all his sons and both of Þiðrek's champions fall before the witch's dragons and Hertnið, though heavily wounded, is victorious.

Ísungr konungr ok hans synir sjá nú, hversu þessi mikla ok in illa sveit gerir þeim mikinn skaða. Hann keyrir sporum sinn hest ok spennir fast sitt spjótskaft. Þat er hátt ok svá digrt, at í þrjú er klofinn askrinn, ok hans spjótskaft er einn hlutrinn af inum digra aski. Hann sér, hvar flýgr inn illi dreki. Sá er meiri ok hræðiligri en allir aðrir. Hann skýtr spjótinu at drekanum. Drekinn sér, hversu þetta mikla spjót flýgr til hans, bregðr sér undan. Flýgr spjótit hjá honum, en drekinn steypir sér ofan at konunginum ok tekr með sínum munni ok klónum ok gleypir hann. Þetta sér hans ellsti son, sá er allra þeira var sterkastr. Hann leggr drekann með sínu spjóti gegnum fótinn uppi við búkinn. Drekinn snarast við laginu ok þrífr sínum klóm hann svá fast, at gegnum gengr brynjuna ok búkinn. Svá fær hann bana, ok áðr hefir hann drepit león ok björn. Nú í þessu bili hefir Lórantin, inn yngsti sonr konungs, drepinn einn león ok orðit sárr, ok einn dreka særði hann til bana, ok þessi dreki veitir honum banasár með sínum klóm.

Svá lengi stendr þessi orrosta, at drekarnir ok leónar hafa látit náliga allir sitt líf af stórum höggum sona Ísungs konungs. Ok Ísungr konungr er nú dauðr með alla sína sonu fyrir dýrunum ok drekum, ok engi maðr veitti þeim bana annars kostar en með fjölkynngi Ostasie.

Fasold stolzi lætr bera sitt merki fram í miðjan her Vilkinamanna í gegn Hertnið konungi, ok stendr þar snörp orrosta milli þeira tveggja höfðingja. Fasold hefir nú drepit annarri sinni hendi mörg hundrað Vilkinamanna. Hann er nú mjök sárr ok móðr í

víginu. Nú ríðr at honum sjálfr Hertnið konungr ok leggr ril hans sínu glaðel í hans brjósti, svá at út gekk um herðarnar. Fellr nú Fasold dauðr af sínum hesti, ok fallinn er nú áðr mestr hlutr liðs hans.

Þetta sér Þéttleifr danski, þar er hann berst ok hefir fellt Vilkinamenn, svá at eigi liggr lægra valköstrinn en söðul hans bar. Hann hefir látit ok flesta alla sína menn, ok sjálfr er hann nú mjök sárr. Eigi at síðr ríðr hann nú djarfliga fram í her Vilkinamanna ok vill hefna Fasolds, síns ins kæra vinar. Hann keyrir hestinn sporum ok ríðr at Hertnið konungi, leggr sínu spjóti í hans skjöld, svá at sundr tekr skjöldinn ok brynjuna tvöfalda ok undir höndina ok sneið í sundr herðarnar allt á hol við herðarblaðit, ok fellr konungr þegar af hestinum til jarðar. Þéttleifr drepr þar með sínu sverði margan góðan dreng yfir Hertnið konungi, ok margir flýja nú, en fáir standa eftir. Þá flýgr einn inn versti dreki yfir Þéttleif með gapanda munn ok vill veita honum bana. Þéttleifr leggr sínu glaðel upp í gegn drekanum í hans munn, svá at út gekk um hálsinn. Drekinn spennir hann með sínum klóm ok lýstr með vængjunum ok fellr allr yfir hann ofan, ok svá fær Þéttleifr danski bana ok hestrinn undir honum.

(Þiðreks saga af Bern 1962:395)

Now King Īsung and his sons saw the damage caused by that numerous and evil horde. He spurred the horse forward and grabbed the spear shaft firmly. It was so long and thick, that it had to be made out of one third of a huge ash. He saw how the evil dragon flew. It was bigger and scarier than all the others and so he threw his spear against it. But the dragon noticed this great spear flying towards it and dodged. The spear flew past it, but the dragon fell from above upon the king and seized him with mouth and claws and devoured him. This saw his oldest son, he was the strongest of them. He drove his spear through the legs and into its belly. The dragon pushed itself down along the spear and caught him with his claws so strongly that they went through the armour and body. This was the prince's doom, yet before his death he managed to kill both a lion and a bear. In the meantime also Lorantin, the king's youngest son, killed a lion, though already wounded; and it was a dragon, which hurt him mortally, and this dragon dealt him the death-wound with his claws. The battle lasted until all the dragons and lions had been killed from the mighty blows of King Īsung's sons. But also King Īsung and all his sons were now killed by beasts and dragons; and they were killed by no man, they died only because of the sorcery of Ostasia.

Fasold the Proud moved with the banner forward into the center of Vilkinas army to king Hertnið and there was a fierce fight between both lords. But Fasold killed by his hand hundreds of Vilkinas so far. Thus he was seriously wounded now and exhausted by the battle. King Hertnid rode towards him and drove his spear into his chest so, that it went out between his shoulders. Here Fasold fell dead from his horse, just like majority of his men before.

> Þēttleif the Dane saw this as he fought and slayed so many Vilkinamen that the pile of dead men reached the saddle that bore him. And he also lost most of his men and suffered major wounds. Nevertheless, he rode boldly into Vilkinas army determined to avenge his dear friend Fasold. He spurred his horse, rode at King Hertnið and drove his spear through his shield so that it broke, and so did also the double breastplate; the spear went under the hand and cut through the shoulders under the shoulder blade and the king was immediately smitten from his horse to the ground. There Þēttleif killed with his sword many a valiant man of King Hertnið and many others fled and so only few were left. Then with open jaws flew one of the most monstrous dragons determined to bring doom upon him. Þēttleif thrusted his spear into the dragon's mouth so that it stuck out of the neck. But the dragon grabbed him with his claws, beat with its wings and fell upon him; thus Þéttleif found his death as well as his horse under him.

It is only after the battle, when king Hertnið realises the true nature of his wife's support.

> Vilkinamenn hitta sinn herra, Hertnið konung, mjök sáran með stórum sárum, flytja hann með sér, ok koma til læknar þeir, er beztir eru í Vilkinalandi, ok græða hann. Þá er Hertnið konungr er heim kominn í sína borg, þá er hans kona Ostasia sjúk, ok þá verðr Hertnið konungr varr við, hvaðan af honum er komin liðveizla sú. er drekarnir eða dýrin hafa honum veitt, ok hversu hans kona var fjölkunnig, ok þrim dögum síðar deyr hún með litlum orðstír.
>
> (Þiðreks saga af Bern 1962:395)

> Vilkinamen found their lord King Hertnið seriously wounded and took him with them; and the best doctors of Vilkinaland came to him and healed him. Then King Hertnið came home to his castle and found his wife, Ostasia, sick. Now the king realised where the help had come from, who had given him the dragons and beasts and how potent a sorcerer was his wife. Three days later she died with little honor.

Unlike in Völuspā, in this case the witch-war theme takes a form of conventional rather than civil war. The reason for this innovation could be rooted, among other things, in certain contextual changes. This time the primarily supposed audience are kings and knights of high medieval society rather than Big Man princes and members of their warrior bands of earlier periods. Among the elites of firmly established feudal order, where the power is more ascribed than achieved and the social position depends on translocally established social rank rather than on local exclusive group, there is no more need to search for the enemies within. As the rank boundary is weakened or is delineated formally, the enemy may stay outside. Therefore, the more useful is the depiction of inter-

elite conflicts, i.e. the geographical delineation and externalisation of perverted social periphery.

Nevertheless, even though high medieval elites are not forced to structure their identity in exclusive local circles, still the economic and political conditions (relation between social influence and physical and martial power) allows them, as well as requires of them, to emphasize the exclusivity of their manliness. Since their androcentric orientation is preserved, woman can be still designed as one of their most dangerous enemies.

For this reason, the motifs of old witch-war tradition are still useful enough to form a relevant narrative concerning the feminine dangers lurking in the world of ruling men. Politically ambitious woman, styled according to the pre-Christian tradition of witchery and sorcery, remains an ideal vehicle to express and personify the peripheral elements threatening Christian chivalrous elite.

Thus one of the central and most important comparative moments of this tale is the depiction of the military opponent in the form of a politically active female witch, who, equipped again with *gandr* and practicing seið, leads a supernaturally disposed and militarily efficient army into the battle. However, instead of the powers of resurrection emphasized in Völuspā, in this case another traditional feature of feminine sorcery, typical for Germanic pre-Christian tradition, is preserved. Like eddaic valkyrjas or idises of the Old High German First Merseburg Incantation, who are able to bind the minds of enchanted victims, Ostasia has the power to overmaster the minds of beasts.

But also other comparative relations are present; her supernatural army is large in numbers and therefore it is difficult (in fact, in this case impossible) to overcome. And this moment is directly connected with Völuspā-like motif of the war's senselessness. Despite all expectations as well as justness and legitimacy of their fight and even their initial success, the "good guys" represented by Īsung and his warriors are simply exterminated. And their craven opponent, though prevailing in the end, also pays the high price for his victory; his attractive wife, powerful witch and the only true originator of his victory, is dead.

Also the peripheral nature of the witch's side seems to be present, though its expression changed, as it was discussed above, being structured geographically-horizontally rather than socially-vertically. The marginality of Vilkinas is, first of all, expressed through their close connection with another, foreign, eastern world. But also many socially encoded signs of marginality are at hand; feminine leadership and participation in battle, use of magic and non-human beasts controlled through magic, which is literary contextualised as dark and obsolete art trained by the step-mother, or non-chivalric behaviour (craven incursion, usage of secret non-formal strategies to achieve the victory).

It can be then concluded, that the tale of the war between Īsung and Hertnið of Þiðreks saga represents another Germanic manifestation of the witch-war theme.

Unlike in Völuspā, where both sides prevail here both sides fail; witch-cleansing crusade is supressed just like the witch herself. The presence of this significant variation, along with the time and spatial gap between both texts suggests their mutual independence, being the two autonomous variants of the same older tradition. The more so, the story of Īsung's fall contains some unique motives. The most significant among them are the importance of the young champion allied with the leader of "good guys", his breakthrough into the centre of enemy's army as well as subsequent duel with the main villain. The relation of these motives to the structure of the other archaic narratives of IE language area is discussed below and speaks significantly for its proper membership in the group of IE witch-war narrations.

2.2.3 *Devāḥ* and *Asurāḥ*

Manifestations of the witch-war theme, comparatively close particularly to eddaic variant, can be found also in the Indo-Iranian area. Namely in the tradition of war between divine Devāḥ, led by Viṣṇu and Indra, and demonic Asurāḥ (Daityāḥ, Dānavāḥ) under the patronage of the family of yogic sorcerers; Śukra (Śukrācārya, Kāvya), his mother Kāvyamāta and his father B^{h}ṛgu. It is known via several recounts and references in puranic and heroic epic literature. It seems to be an important narrative complex, as it explains one of the key concepts of Hinduism, the cause of Viṣṇu's obligation to experience a large number of worldly incarnations.

The most comprehensive recount of this mythological conflict can be found in the so called Devī B^{h}āgavata Purāna (Purāna of the Supreme Goddess). It was probably composed between 12th and 16th century by the group of Goddess' followers gathered in some of her pilgrim centres (Brown 1998:7). It is an important piece of puranic tradition, as it is one of the key texts of Shaktism, the branch of Hindu tradition worshiping the Supreme Goddess as the ultimate originator of all the creation. All the traditional gods and goddess of Hindu pantheon, even the supreme trinity Brahmā – Viṣṇu – Śiva, are perceived as being only the partial manifestation of the Goddess.

The myth, just as the whole Devī B^{h}āgavata Purāna after all, is recounted in the conversation between Vyāsa, the legendary sage of Indian tradition and King Janamejaya, distant descendant of Prince Arjuna of Mahāb^{h}ārata. In this case Vyāsa reveals the chain of all the events leading to Viṣṇu's curse of repeated incarnations. According to the sage's words, for generations there was a constant war between the Devāḥ and Asurāḥ, in which the Devāḥ clearly had the upper hand.

vyāsa uvāca: śr̥ṇu rājanprava śyāmi mr̥gīḥ śāpasya kāranaṃ
purā kāśyapadāyadī hiranyakaśipurnr̥paḥ /
yadā tadā suraiḥ sārdʰaṃ kr̥taṃ samkʰyaṃ parasparam //
kr̥te saṃkʰye jagatsarvaṃ vyākulaṃ samajāyata /
hate tasminnr̥pe rājā prahlādaḥ samajāyata //
devānsa pīḍayāmāsa prahlādaḥ śatrukarṣaṇaḥ /
saṃyrāmo hyabʰavaddʰoraḥ śakraprahlādayostadā //
pūrna varṣaśataṃ rājaṁllokavismayakārakam /
devairyuddʰaṃ kr̥taṃ cograṃ prahlādastu parājitaḥ //
nirvedaṃ paramaṃ prāpto jñātvā dʰarmaṃ sanātanam /
trirācanasutaṃ rājye pratiṣtʰāpya baliṃ nr̥pa
jagāma sa tapastaptuṃ parvate gandʰamādane /
prāpya rājyaṃ valiḥ śrīmānsurairvairaṃ cakāra ha //
tataḥ parasparaṃ yuddʰaṃ jātaṃ paramadāruṇam /
tataḥ surairjitā daityā indreṇāmitatejasā //
viṣṇunā ca sahāyeta rācyabʰraṣṭāḥ kr̥tā nr̥pa /
tataḥ parājitā detyāḥ kāvyasya ṣaraṇaṃ gatʰāḥ //

(4.10.33-40; Śrīmaddevībʰāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 208-209; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.10.33-34. Vyāsa said: Hear, O king! the cause of the curse; I will narrate to you. In days of yore, the king Hiranyakaśipu, the son of Kāśyapa often quarrelled with the Devāḥ; owing to this incessant warfare, the whole universe was much alarmed and perplexed.

4.10.35. And when Hiranyakaśipu was slain by the Man-Lion incarnation [of Viṣṇu], Prahlāda, the tormentor of the foes, continued his enmity towards the Devāḥ and began to annoy them.

4.10. 36. Thus one hundred years dreadful battle occurred between the Devāḥ and Prahlāda, to the astonishment of all.

4.10.37-38. O king! The Devāḥ fought very hard and were victorious. Prahlāda was defeated and was sorely grieved. Hearing that the Eternal Religion is the best, he handed his kingdom over to his son Bali and went to the Gandhamādan hill to practise tapasyā.

4.10.39-40. The prosperous Bali, too, on gaining his kingdom, began to quarrel with the Devāḥ and the war thus went on. Ultimately the powerful Indra and the Devāḥ defeated the Asurāḥ.

(The Srimad Devi Bhagawatam: 285; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

Frustrated Asurāḥ ask their traditional mentor, the powerful yogic sorcerer and healer Śukra, to support them. Devāḥ, being aware of a new danger, hold a council

and decide rather to finish the decimated Asurāḥ in a final attack, this time aided by Viṣṇu himself, than to risk the enemy's rearrangement under the new leader.

vyāsa uvāca: tataste nirbʰayā jātādaityāḥ kāvyasya saṃśrayāt
devaiḥ śrutastu vr̥ttāntaḥ sarvaścāramukʰātkila /
tatra saṃmaṃbʰya te devāḥ śakreṇa ca parasparam //
mantraṃ cakruḥ susaṃvignāḥ kāvyamantraprabʰāvataḥ /
yoddʰuṃ gaccʰāmahe tūrṇaṃ yāvanna cyāvayanti vai //
prasahya hatvā śiṣṭāṃstu pātālaṃ prāpayāmahe /
daityāñjagmustato davāḥ samruṣṭāḥ śarñrapāṇayaḥ //
jagmustānviṣṇusahitā dānavā hariṇoditāḥ /
vadʰyamānāstu te daityāḥ saṃtrastā bʰayapīḍitāḥ //

(4.10.45-48; Śrīmaddevībʰāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 209; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.10.45-47. Vyāsa said: O king! The Daityāḥ became fearless under the patronage of Śukrācārya. The Devāḥ had their spies and knew all about these. They held councils with Indra and settled that before the Daityāḥ had time to dislodge us from our Heaven with the mantra of Śukrācārya, we will speedily go and attack them. Thus attacked suddenly, they will all be slain by us and we will drive them down to the Pātāla.

4.10.48. Thus forming their resolves, with fully equipped arms and weapons, they went out in rage to fight with the Daityāḥ and ordered by Indra and aided by Viṣṇu, they began to kill the Demons.
(Srimad Devi Bhagawatam:286; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

Śukra realises his power is not sufficient to resist Viṣṇu's armies. Therefore he advises to negotiate peace, while he visits Śiva and asks him for powerful mantras to make himself a deadlier oponent. Peace negotiations are successful as well as Śukra's request, though Śiva promises to give him mantras only after a thousand years of highly demanding asceticism; hanging upside down and inhaling the smoke of burning husk (Śiva knows Śukra's aim of destroying Devāḥ and therefore he tries to make the task as difficult as possible). Nevertheless, after some time Devāḥ become aware of Śukra's effort and decide to break the peace and attack the Asurāḥ once again. Demons flee in fear without fight, searching for shelter in the abode of Kāvyamāta, Śukra's mother.

śaraṇaṃ dānavā jagmurbhītāste kāvyamātaram /
dr̥ṣṭvā tānatisaṃ taptānabʰayaṃ ca dadāvatʰa //
kāvyamātovāca:

na bʰetavyaṃ na bʰetavyaṃ bʰayaṃ tyajata dānavāḥ /
matsatridʰau vartamānātra bʰīrbʰavitumarhati //
taccʰrutvā vacanaṃ daityāḥ stʰitástatra gatavyatʰāḥ /
nirāyudʰā hyasaṃbʰrāṃtāstatrāśramavare´surāḥ //

(4.11.38-40; Śrīmaddevībʰāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 211; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.11.38. And they took refuge under Śukrācārya's mother. She saw the Daityāḥ very much fearstricken and at once guaranteed to them protection from fear.

4.11.39. The mother of Kāvya Śukrācārya said: Don't fear; don't fear; cast away fear. O Dānavāḥ! In my presence, no fear can overtake you.

4.11.40. The Asurāḥ on hearing her words were free from anxiety and pain and remained in that hermitage, in no way now bewildered or agitated, though they had no arms.

(The Srimad Devi Bhagawatam:289; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

Devāḥ pursue Asurāḥ right into sorceress' hermitage and start to slay them there, ignoring all the warnings of Kāvyamāta.

devāstānvidrutānvīkṣya dānavāṃste padānugāḥ /
abʰijagmuḥ prasahya tānavicārya //
tatrāgatāḥ surah sarve haṃtuṃ daityānsamudyatāḥ /
vāritāḥ kāvyamātrā´pijagʰnustānā tramastʰitām //

(4.11.41-42; Śrīmaddevībʰāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 211; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.11.41-42. Here the Devāḥ, seeing the Daityāḥ flying away, pursued them and entering the hermitage were ready to kill the Daityāḥ, not taking into account what strength they gained there. The mother of Śukrā warned the Devāḥ not to kill; but, inspite of her hindrance, they began to slay the Daityāḥ.

(The Srimad Devi Bhagawatam: 289; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

Therefore Kāvyamāta uses her mystic power to bring sleep upon all the Devāḥ.

hanyamānānsurairdṛṣṭvā kāvyamātā´tivepitā /
uvāca sarvānsanidrāṃstapasā vai karoṃyaham //
ityuktvā preritā nidrā tānāgatya papāta ca /
seṃdrā nidrāvaśaṃ yātā devā mūkavadāsthitāḥ //

(4.11.43-44; Śrīmaddevībʰāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 211; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.11.43. Seeing the Daityāḥ thus attacked, the mother was furiously irritated and told them she would make all of them overpowered by sleep by her tapas strength, clarified intellectual force.

4.11.44. So saying she sent the Goddess of sleep who at once overpowered the Gods and made them all lie down on the ground senseless. Indra with the other Devāḥ lay there dumb, and miserable.

(Srimad Devi Bhagawatam:289; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

Besides Viṣṇu, only Indra, with help of the Viṣṇu, is able to overcome the sleeping spell and regain his lost consciousness. For this reason, Kāvyamāta intends to eliminate both leaders of the Devāḥ physically.

maghavaṃstvāṃ bhakṣayāmi saviṣṇuṃ vai tapobalāt /
paśyatāṃ sarvadevānāmodṛaśaṃ me tapobalam //
vyāsa uvāca:
ityuktau tu tayā devau viṣṇivaṃdrau yāgavidyayā /
abhibhūtau mahātmānau stabdhau tau staṃbabhūvanuḥ //
vismitāmstu tadā devā dṛṣṭvā tāvatibādhitau /
cakruḥ krilakilāśabdaṃ tataste dīnamānasāḥ //

(4.11.48-50; Śrīmaddevībhāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 211; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.11.48. O Indra! I will devour you with Viṣṇu today by my tapas force. All the Devāḥ will presently see all this and my extraordinary power.

4.11.49. Vyāsa said: O king! No sooner than the mother spoke thus, both Indra and Viṣṇu were both stupefied under her magical spell, superior thought power, and a thorough learning of the art of warfare.

4.11.50. The Devāḥ, seeing them very much overpowered and bewildered, were greatly struck with wonder; they became desperate and began to cry aloud.

(Srimad Devi Bhagawatam:289; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

Indra feels himself inferior to Kāvyamāta's power and therefore he asks Viṣṇu to slay her in order to prevent the destruction of all the Devāḥ. Viṣṇu decides to hear Indra's request and decapitates the sorceress.

ityukto bhagavānviṣṇuḥ śakreṇa prathitena ca /
cakraṃ sasmāra tarasā dhṛṇāṃ tyaktvātha mādhavaḥ //
smṛtamātraṃ tu saṃprāptaṃ cakraṃ viṣṇuvaśānugam /
daghāra ca kare kruddho vadhāthaṁ śakranoditaḥ //

ṣr̥hītvā tatkare cakraṃ śiraścicchʰeda raṃhasā /
hatāṃ dr̥ṣṭvā tu tām śakro muditaṣcābʰavattadā //
devāścātīva saṃtuṣṭā hari jaya jayeti ca /
tuṣṭuvurmuditāḥ sarve saṃjātā vigatajvarāḥ //

(4.11.53-56; Śrīmaddevībʰāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 211-212; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.11.53. When thus requested by Indra who was very much perplexed, Bhagavān Viṣṇu quickly remembered his Sudarśana disc, casting aside the thought that it is hateful to kill a woman.

4.11.54-55. The disc, the ever obedient weapon of Viṣṇu appeared instantly at his remembrance; and Viṣṇu, becoming angry as prompted by Indra held the disc in His hand, and, hurling it at Śukrā's mother, severed off her head quickly. The god Indra became very glad at this.

4.11.56. The Devāḥ became free from sorrow, became very pleased and heartily exclaimed victory to Hari and worshipped Him and began to chant His praises.

(Srimad Devi Bhagawatam: 290; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

Bʰr̥gu curses Viṣṇu for his sinful act of feminicide to suffer frequent earthly births. Subsequently he resurrects his beheaded wife.

iti śaptvā hari roṣāttadādāya siramtvaran /
kāyaṃ saṃyojya ta rasā bʰr̥guḥ provāca kāryavit //
aca tvā vipṇunā devi hatām saṃjīvayāmyaham /
yadi kr̥tsno mayā dʰarmo jñāyate carito´pi vā //
tena satyena jīveta yadi satyaṃ vravīmyaham /
paśyaṃtu devatāḥ sarvā mama tejobalaṃ mahat //
adbʰistāṃ prokṣya śītābʰirjīvayāmi tapobalāt /
styaṃ śaucaṃ tatʰā vedā yadi me tapaso balat //
vyāsa uvāca:
adbʰiḥ saṃprokṣitā devī sadyaḥ saṃjīvitā tadā /
utthitā paramaprītā bʰrgorbʰāryā śucismitā //
tatastāṃ sarvabʰūtāni dr̥ṣṭvā suptostʰitāmiva /
sadʰu sādʰviti taṃ tāṃ tu tuṣṭuvuḥ sarvato diśam //
ēvaṃ saṃjīvitā tena bʰrguṇā vararvaṇinī /
vismayaṃ paramaṃ jigmurdevāḥ seṃdrā vilokya tat //

(4.12.11-17; Śrīmaddevībʰāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam: 212-213; transcribed from devanāgarī)

4.12.11. Vyāsa said: O king! The sacrificer Bhṛgu angrily cursed Hari and next took that severed head and quickly placed it over the body as before and said:

4.12.12-14. O Devī! Viṣṇu has slain you today; I will make you regain your life just now. If I am acquainted with all the Dharmāḥ and if I have practised these in my life and if I have spoken truth always, then dost thou regain your life by my religious merit. Let all the Devāḥ witness my power and strength. If I know the Truth, if I have studied all the Vedāḥ and if I have realised the Knowledge of the Vedāḥ, then I, sprinkling your body with this cold water, charged with my mantras, will revive you.

4.12.15. Vyāsa said: O king! Sprinkled by the water by Bhṛgu , his wife regained her life and rose up at once and felt herself glad and smiled.

4.12.16. All the persons and living creatures seeing her stand, as if awoken from her sleep, at once exclaimed from all sides "well done, well done!" thanked Bhṛgu and his wife very much and highly praised them.

4.12.17. Thus seeing the fair complexioned wife regain her life through Bhṛgu , Indra and all the Devāḥ were very much struck with wonder.

(Srimad Devi Bhagawatam:291; Sanskrit nouns standardised)

For this moment the war is over but Indra still worries about the future, when Śukra would gain the requested mantras. Therefore he sends his daughter Jayantī to Śukra to win his heart. Jayantī is successful. After obtaining the mantras Śukra marries her and their honeymooning delays his return to Asurāḥ. Indra schemes further and sends Bṛhaspatī, who magically take the shape of Śukra, to Asurāḥ themselves to teach them the pacifistic ideas of ahinsā. His disguise is so efficient, that Asurāḥ believe his teachings and even witnessing the direct verbal confrontation between impostor and their true guru, who returns to them meanwhile, they refuse true Śukra. Seeing that their enemies banish their true leader (and the only hope to prevail in war), Devāḥ march on Asurāḥ to finish them. But Śukra hold the speech to both sides and explains that there is no need to fight as Devāḥ are necessarily predestined to replace Asurāḥ in their rule over the universe. Both sides agree and part in peace. Yet after a while Asurāḥ change their minds and attack the Devāḥ. Now it is the gods, who are paralysed by fear and so they call for an aid to Devī. She answers their prayers; she arrives accompanied by her heavenly army and defeats the demons.

In this case, the innovative Shakti redaction of the older Vaishnavaist narrative is obvious. Through the entire story the narrator stands on the side of Indra and Viṣṇu worshiping brahmanas, sages, yogis and kṣatriyas, only to find out in the end that it is all nothing compared to the reality and presence of the Devī. All the traditional masculine concepts of obtaining the power through warfare, fighting

and hard religious practice are abruptly subordinated to the supreme feminine power of the Great Goddess and the passive acts of Bhakti devotion dedicated to her. Thus, the final motiveless attack of Asurāḥ with subsequent intervention of the Great Goddess seems to represent an appendix, as obvious as it is awkward, to the original narration's structure.

Anyway, the conservative part of the story shows the structural closeness to the formerly examined Germanic cognates of witch-war theme, especially to Völuspā. There is a long and tedious conflict between two groups of supernatural agents, between warlike rulers (Devāḥ; Æsir) and their magically disposed opponents (Asurāḥ; Vanir). The expected victory of rulers is insecure particularly because of the appearance of a new opponent's leader, gifted with mystic magical powers (Heiðr; Śukra). Rulers hold a council and decide to eliminate their opponents by means of military action. However, their promising offensive almost turns to catastrophe due to intervention of a powerful female witch. As in Low German tradition, the key moment is the appearance of Kāvyamāta on the stage in the position of the war leader of the demons. It completely changes the situation and the previously victorious "good guys" are abruptly turned to losers. As in the case of Ostasia or generally the Germanic idises, the success of the witch's intervention depends on her mind-controlling sorcery or an ability to paralyse the enemy on the battlefield. But also in the North Germanic variation, all the problems of Æsir seem to be connected with the power of the witch, her ability of magical regeneration.

The most striking comparative moment is the killing of the witch and her subsequent resurrection through the supernatural regenerative powers of the demonic side (Gullveig three times unsucesfully burned to death, Kāvyamāta beheaded and resurrected). Here this sequence is textually structured even more "logically" (in the end) than in the case of Völuspā (at the beginning). After the war, most serious of the war crimes, the highly sinful act of feminicide, the potential source of future intergroup hostility *par excellence*, is overcome. And so the reunion itself sounds much more realistic.

The exchange of the hostages is another striking moment, common for both Indian and Old Norse tradition. The role and the nature of Bṛhaspatī are close to that of the Mīmir, as Oosten (1985) noticed, both of them being a *hollow wise-man* sent by rulers to their opponents. And again, in Indian tradition, the marriage of Jayantī as well as the mission of Bṛhaspatī occurs after the resurrection of the witch, i.e. in the moment which structurally resembles final peace negotiations of Old Norse tradition, as discussed in the previous paragraph.

The motif of hanged man, the Ōðinn-like character of Śukra, represents also an interesting match with Old Norse tradition (Oosten 1985). Although from the point of view of eddaic text Śukra stays on the inappropriate side, still the overall nature of the event shows strong textual resemblances; voluntary self-tormenting

to reach the enlightenment, hanged nature of the procedure, etc. Though transformed into Hindu context, Indian variant of witch-war theme still shares with its northern Germanic counterpart the significant amount of complex textual patterns. This makes the assumption of the existence of its PIE narrative model highly likely.

The idea of genetically rooted resemblance of the two narrative cycles can be supported also by well-known reflections on possible etymological connection (though not entirely clear) between Asurāḥ and Æsir, proposed by H. Güntert and subsequently accepted by J. Pokorny, J. de Vries and others (Lincoln 1981:51). And so, if the obvious shift of Asurāḥ from their supreme position and positive function to inferiority, at least in comparison to the preserved supremacy of Hittie *haššuš*, Old Norse *áss*, or Iranian Av. *ahura-*, will be considered, then in both cases the hanged man motif appears in the structurally equal position.

Anyway, when it comes to the overall point of the Indian variation, both sides are again winners in their own way. Just like in Völuspā, one group showed they are fair warriors while the other proved they are true sorcerers and healers. Dignity of both sides is maintained. The witch-cleansing crusade is successful while the witch remains alive.

Perhaps it is not by chance that Devī's final attack is by its nature similar to the appearance of Ostasia on the battlefield. The innovative Shakti story could well be woven out of many older, yet still available, folklore themes and motives of militarily and politically active woman. Probably not by an accident, to fulfil the purpose of Shakti reinterpretation the traditional story was chosen, in which are discussed moments like the legitimacy to rule and the problem of hierarchal competition of two rival sides, all connected with the phenomenon of feminine (Gullveig, Kāvyamāta) political activity.

The last groups of motives to mention are those briefly noticed in the case of Þiðreks saga variation. Viṣṇu and Indra represent the striking couple of main heroes who closely cooperate to defeat the witch and her supporters. While in the case of Þiðreks saga couples like Īsung and Þēttleif/Fasold or Þēttleif and Fasold are only slightly sketched, in Devī B^{h}āgavata Purāna, for the ultimate victory the interaction between both hierarchically organised leaders, the supreme lord Viṣṇu and his "first knight" Indra, is essential. It will be shown that this is the moment typical for Slavic variants of witch-war theme discussed below.

2.2.4 Popelvār and Ježibaba

In this section the possible penetration of witch-war theme into the genre of European peasant fairy tale is discussed. To make things clear right from the start; folk tale is primarily and generally a peasant narrative genre recorded in modern

times, as Stitt (1992) pointed out. Anyone should be cautious of interpreting its textual structures as the descendants of genres of different social context and function, as well as generally earlier historical appearance, like mythos or epos. Change in context causes the change in text. The general mythological interpretative approach to fairy tales has more to do with ideologies and wishful thinking of romanticism than with serious scientific research. No European fairy tale preserves Grimm's *aryan myth*.

On the other hand, textual exchange between genres is not entirely impossible. Occasionally, under favourable contextual conditions, an inter-genre textual communication may occur. This seems to be the case of Slavic fairy tale of a hero who leads an army against the hordes of a demonic hag. Its non-fairy tale content and rare though extensive occurrence indicates that it perhaps evolved outside the fairy tale tradition and only secondarily entered the genre.

The character of a supernaturally disposed hag is typical for western and eastern Slavic fairy tale tradition. She is a demonic creature dwelling in the wilderness or in another world (beyond the sea, bridge etc.). She is a keeper or mother of various fairy tale items or creatures, often dragons. Sometimes she takes the position of a villain, though in many cases she acts rather like an ambivalent trickster and/or donor; it is dangerous for a hero or heroine to interact with her but it is necessary for the final success of the quest.

As Johns summarised a long discussion concerning the matter of etymology (Johns 2004:9-12), her name, though dialectally varied (rus. Baba Jaga, slk. Ježibaba, pl. Endzibaba), used to show a common Slavic pattern, being a compound of (p)sl. *baba* '(old) woman' and, most likely, psl. **eŋga*, converging by its meaning to terms like 'illness', 'anxiety' or 'misfortune'.

Slavic Jaga shows several archaic traits reaching beyond the limits of folk tale genre in general, as countless authorities of ethnology, linguistics and religious studies demonstrated (Johns 2004:8-43). Nonetheless, these aspects scarcely take the form of anything more than semantic ornaments on Jaga's depiction. From the viewpoint of the sujet, she still occurs and operates within the limits of the standard textual structures of peasant fairy tales. Certain exceptions in this regard occur particularly in tales depicting Jaga as a warlord who leads an army against the host of the tale´s main hero.

The first and most important exception here is, of course, the very motif of battle with Jaga's army. Unlike in other recurrent cases, where the hag acts in usual non-militaristic context, as an individualistic villain or trickster, in the role of a field commander she appears rarely (Johns 2004:179). Nonetheless, occurrence of this rare militaristic fairy tale is documented systematically across the Slavic-speaking areas of eastern and central Europe.

Johns (2004:179-182) identified various features typical for this topic, as they appear in variants documented in eastern Slavic tradition.

As for the battle theme, the hero usually performs this task together with a companion, who is commonly known for being in a long war against the hag. The hero yearns for the worldly fame of a warrior. Therefore, he deliberately looks for this foreign character and together they defeat Jaga's army.

Another common moment is pursuing of fleeing hag after the defeat of her army in a way typical for dragon-slaying fairy tale sujet AT 301 (Three stolen princesses/Three underground kingdoms; Aarne & Thompson 1961); they follow her to the hole in the ground through which, with the help of the companion, the hero descends into Jaga's underground realm.

Underground the hero first finds and slays groups of the witch's craftsman (smiths, tailors, shoemakers etc.), who are constantly producing (hammering, weaving, stitching etc.) her warriors. Then he fights Jaga herself and defeats her by deceit; for example before the fight he lets the inattentive hag drink the potion of weakness, which was originally intended for him. The hero is often aided by a woman close to Jaga, usually her own daughter.

The very act of Jaga's elimination is most commonly connected with a regeneration motif. After the decapitation, her rolling head asks the hero to be slashed once again. The hero refuses, as he knows, usually from the hag's maid, that a second strike would resurrect the hag. In one variant the hero decapitates her, as she is lying in the cradle, being rocked and nursed by nannies (Johns 2004:181).

This whole hag-war episode is often a part of a longer story; it is embedded between other more or less standard fairy tale subjets. Most often it is interwoven into the textual patterns of AT301 and followed by AT 302 (Ogre's heart in the egg). After Jaga's elimination, the hero sets out for the quest to kill the famous and powerful sorcerer (AT302), as this is the last creature which prevents him from being the mightiest man in the world.

As an illustrative example for this comparative analysis, one of the two western Slavic variants of this sujet, both unnoticed by Johns (2004), will be considered. An earlier one (Polívka 1923:247-256) was recorded by Slovak priest and folk tale collector Samuel Reuss about the year 1840 in the mountainous region in the eastern part of central Slovakia, most likely in the surroundings of the town Revūca (Hlôšková 2009:16). The latter (Mišík 1913:83-86) was written down by another priest and folklore collector (and the head of Slovak Museum Society) Štefan Mišík. It was recorded seventy kilometres farther east and three generations later, in the small mountain village of Hnilec about the year 1910 from the literate forty six year old local miner Ludvig Olexa (Mišík 1913:86).

Both variants contain features even less typical for fairy tale genre. While in eastern Slavic renderings the battle with Jaga is interwoven into AT301 structure (wounding the villain on the battlefield – pursuing the villain to the entrance into the underground – descent into the underground – slaying the villain – betrayal of companion during the return from the underground), in both Slovak variants the

war against the Ježibaba is represented by an encapsulated sequence independent on any folktale textual models. It is organised around the core motif of epic battle finished by elimination of the hag right at the battlefield. Thus, from the point of view of fairy tale tradition, general structure of the earlier Slovak variant can be expressed by the formula X + AT301 + AT302 and of the latter by X + AT302, where X stands for the hag-war sequence.

Within the limits of spoken rural language, the earlier variant is typical for its relatively elaborated structure and language. On the contrary, the more recent one is rather a plain narrative of raw style even according to the criteria of a rural speech community. Perhaps this difference is rooted in the declining social utility of folk tale storytelling art; decreasing frequency and prestige of storytelling occasions lowers the storyteller's motivation and the time of practice, which leads to the decline in his skill. For these reasons the earlier variant is used in the following lines for the purpose of textual analysis and the more recent one is considered only as an auxiliary source.

Nonetheless, from the comparative point of view the important moment is, that the war sequence – though slightly varied – shows in both variants the same basic elements as well as resemblance to eastern Slavic variations. It suggests that both stories are the local and authentic representatives of a broader Slavic fairy tale tradition concerning the unique hag-war theme.

The text starts with typical fairy tale motif; a king sends his three sons to prove their quality in foreign land. Both the oldest one and the second-born son return without any significant success, reaching only the copper and silver forest. Lastly the underestimated thirdborn prince *popelvār* ('cinderer', from common wsl. popel 'cinder'/'ash') is allowed to go, being equipped only with a scabby horse and an old rusty sabre. However, shortly after the departure the magical nature of the equipment is revealed; the poor horse is turned into a fiery flying stallion and the sabre to a fine weapon with special powers. Flying the magical horse, the prince travels further than any of his brothers. After crossing the copper, silver and golden forest, the horse explains that they are approaching the kingdom of an old friend and ally of the prince's father. Both kings together used to make war in vain against Ježibaba and her three dragon sons. After being welcomed warmly at the court of the allied king, the prince offers to fight against the hag.

> Zase za chvílku zastal Tátoš a povedal: „Tu je zlatá hora; za tótó horó bývá tvojho Otcóv dobrý prijatel, tam pojdeme na noc." Na nekolko skokó preskočil calú horu, a pred zámkom, kde dobrý prijatel princovho Otca býval, zastane. Jako prišól do zámku a uvidel ho jeho Otcov prijatel, hned sa ho spítá, že jako on sem prišól. On mu vyrozprável šecko; bars sa zaradoval na tom, že je on jeho prítelov syn. I to povedal, že ho sem Tátoš zaviedol, který často sem nosil jeho otca, který s vámí, krále – lebo i tento ból

> králom – proti Ježibabe i jé troch synó bojoval, ale že vždycky darmo. A že by on tješ mal chut proti této potvore bojovat a že se mu asnád poštestí prevladat.
>
> (Polívka 1923:248)

> In a while stallion stopped again and said: 'Here is the golden forest, behind this forest lives a good friend of your father, we will stay there overnight.' With a few leaps they crossed the whole forest and in front of the castle where the good friend of the prince's father dwelled, they stopped. As they came into the castle and the father's friend saw them, immediately he asked the prince, how it is that he came to visit him. He recounted everything and king much rejoiced that the prince is his friend's son. The prince also told him that he traveled here by the stallion, which often carried also his father, who with you, o king – as this one was a king as well –, against Ježibaba and her three sons, fought, but always in vain. And that he is also ready to fight against this monster and maybe he will be lucky enough to prevail.

First the king is sceptical, reminding the supernatural regenerative abilities of hag's warriors. But he decides, after all, to march with the prince's support once again against his archenemy.

> „Ei, ašdaj se poštestí, ale ja neúfam, lebo z toho Ježibabinho vojska čím vjac človek pobije, tim viacej vojáků povstane", povedal Popelvára otcov prijatel, „ale ešte i já oprobujem proti té potvory bojovat.
>
> (Polívka 1924:249)

> 'Well, perhaps you will be lucky, but I do not have hope, because the more of Ježibaba's army one cuts down the more soldiers will rise.' said Popelvār's father's friend, 'but I will try to fight against that monster once again.'

The next morning both armies clash in an open battle. Ježibaba gains an upper hand as all her fallen warriors are immediately resurrected.

> Jeho Otcov prítel pozberal, čo mohol vojska, a včas rano šli proti neprítelovi. Zdaleka videli ne jedné veliké lúke plno vojska. „Tam, hle", povie Popelvárovho Otcov prítel jemu, „sedí na tom rozštokovanú Ježibaba a odtial rozkazy vydává. Poďme naných!" zavolá na vojsko svoje; tu všetci do skoku a ten Popelvár vytjahne z pošvy šabličku a povjé jej: „Šablička, rúbaj neprijatela!" Tu začne šablička rúbat, že len tak hlavy frkaly, ale čím vjacej neprijateló pobili, tím ich vjacej bolo.
>
> (Polívka 1924:249)

> His father's friend assembled as large an army as he could and early in the morning they went against the enemy. Already from afar they saw a huge army standing on the

large meadow. 'Over there', says Popelvār's father's friend, 'is sitting Ježibaba on that construction and from that place she gives her commands.' He calls to his army, 'Let's charge them!', and they all leap ahead and Popelvār unsheathes his sabre and says to it: 'Sabre, hew the enemy!' And as the sabre starts to hew the heads were falling one after another, but the more enemies they slayed the more were around them.

Nonetheless, prince leads a successful breakthrough into the centre of the hostile army where he eliminates the hag. After the fall of the leader all the enemies surrender and the long war is finally over.

Oni len vždy k Ježibabe postupovali, až k samému drevu, na ktorom ona stála, prišli. Vtom povjé princ svojé šabličky: „Šablička, zotni to drevo!" a hned padlo aj s Ježibabó na zem. Zase povje šabličky: „Rozsekaj Ježibabu na drobnje kusy!" a hned jú rozsekala. Ak videli vojská, že jim vudce padnúl, hned sa všetci poddali.

(Polívka 1924:249)

They still moved closer to Ježibaba and finally they came to the very wood on which she was standing. Now the prince says to his sabre: 'Sabre, cut down that wood!' and immediately it fell down to the ground and Ježibaba as well. Again he says to the sabre: 'Cut Ježibaba to small pieces!' and immediately she was cut up. As the armies saw that their leader is fallen they all surrendered immediately.

Shortly after the victory the prince leaves the grateful kingdom and returns home to report his achievements. The father appreciates his deeds and reveals him that this old friend of his also had the three daughters, but they have been kidnaped by three šarkans (humanoid polycephalic winged dragons), the sons of the slayed Ježibaba. Since the prince strives to be the mightiest man in the world, he travels to the allied kingdom once again to rescue the stolen princesses. The king tries to dissuade the hero to undertake so dangerous a mission, but seeing his resolution, he finally shows him the way to the entrance into the underground where the šarkans dwell. With the help of the princesses (being presented with magical rings of strength) the hero slays their husbands one by one and then returns the princesses to their father. Ignoring all the favours, even the offer to marry the youngest and fairest princess and rule the kingdom, he returns to his father to recount about his success. But after a short time of rest, the hero asks the father whether, in spite of all his achievements, there is a man in the world who is mightier than the hero himself. The father unwillingly reveals that in the distant castle standing on the chicken leg lives an all-knowing wizard called Vašbarāt ('iron monk', from hun. *vass* 'iron', hun. *barát szerzetes* 'monk'), who is the mightiest man in the world and who actually intends to eliminate Popelvār as his most serious competitor. The prince travels to fight Vašbarāt. Right at the

start of their encounter the wizard turns the hero to millet and feeds him to a rooster. Vašbarāt's wife, the kidnaped daughter of another allied king (Polish according to more recent variant), using the knowledge spied from her husband, turns the hero back into the human shape and reveals to him the secret of the wizard's power. Its source is hidden in the egg inside the golden duck floating once every seven years on the lake nearby the castle. The hero hunts down the duck, eats the egg and with the newly gained power he turns Vašbarāt into a wild boar. As the mightiest man in the world he marries the wizard's wife at the court of her father and then he returns home and rules the father's kingdom.

The text contains several features common in the European fairy tale tradition. The main hero bears the common non-personal label *popelvār*; he is a cinderlad, a typical thirdborn *unpromising youth* and/or *bear's son* of the fairy tale tradition. Also the whole sequences of the sujet, elimination of Ježibaba's dragon sons (AT301) as well as the all-knowing wizard (AT302), are shaped more or less in accordance with fairy tale tradition.

Another layer of motives and themes varies from fairy tale tradition, but still it is in accordance with the aforementioned features of eastern Slavic hag-war fairy tales. The hero wants to gain world fame and therefore seeks out the foreign character famous for his war against the hag. Another moment is the resurrection theme. In the analysed variant it is slightly varied; instead of the hag herself this ability is reserved only for her warriors, who are able to resurrect themselves right on the battlefield. In a younger Slovak variant this theme is even less directly expressed, being reduced to the unending flow of hostile soldiers. However, paradoxically, here the common Slavic pattern is more recognisable. In the middle of hag's army the hero finds a hut in which she sits and constantly 'weaves' her warriors. Thus the regeneration motif, though less explicitly expressed, bears the stamp of artisanal origin of hag's soldiers common in eastern Slavic variants.

Third textual layer is represented by moments which are uncommon even for the eastern Slavic realisation of hag-war theme. Military conflict takes place within the aristocratic and even political (note the presence of Polish king) context; the companion takes the form of a foreign king, the good old friend and past wars ally of the hero's kingly father. After the warm invitation the external hero offers his services in struggle against the deadly archenemy. The general Bēowulf-like character of this plot is striking.

But this is not the only resemblance to the Bēowulf epos. In the AT301 sequence which follows the elimination of Ježibaba and in which the hero deals with her dragon sons living underground the motif of pursuing the wounded villain to the underground entrance, which is one of the most typical components of AT301 fairy tale ever, is substituted by the motif of a royal escort similar to Hrōðgār's accompaniment of Bēowulf to the underground of Grendel's mother.

And as it was suggested above, also the very battle shows several features alien to fairy tale tradition but typical for heroic epic genre. One of them, as Karbusický suggested (1995:108-113), is certain kind of *berserkr scene*; the hero's exceptional martial performance during the battle expressed through the scene of *mowing* the hostile warriors. Popelvār performs, just like Fasold of Þiðreks saga, the same performance.

Other examples of the epos' features are the motif of meeting of the heroes, often of the ruler and his external younger loyal campion, in the hour of need before the fatal battle (Bēowulf, Song of the Warhost of Igor – quoted sequence, etc.) or the hero's breakthrough into the centre of hostile army with subsequent elimination of the main villain (Þiðreks saga – quoted sequence, Jegorij Xrabryj and Krivda – see below, etc.).

All these moments support the assumption, that the Slavic hag-war theme, and especially its western variants, can be considered a relic of different and more archaic folklore genre. Coexistence of several factors, i.e. non-fairy tale heroic content and rare but territorially extensive occurrence combined with textual stability, suggest that 1) by its nature it is alien to European as well as Slavic fairy tale and 2) probably it originated in a tradition of extensively disposed and complexly developed militaristic narratives. Thus the certain layers of the archaic IE (Slavic) epos seem to be the most likely candidate for its original environment.

And truly, there are many comparative matches with heroically and historically disposed witch-war theme discussed above. Like in its other representatives analysed so far, the central moment is a war or battle of masculine elite against the army led by a demonic female being. Especially the western Slavic variants with the unusual storytelling focus on the recounting of the fatal battle (of course within the limits of fairy tale genre), the motif of the king and his allied champion or the breakthrough of this champion into the centre of the hostile army are close to epic monumentality of Īsung's fight against Hertnið. Ježibaba herself acts as a field commander similar to Ostasia.

Moreover, the war itself is a long and risky business, mostly because of the ability of the otherworldly enemy to provide constant refilling of its fallen warriors. In some variants it is depicted as magical regenerations of the hag's troops right on the battlefield, like in Völuspā. Other variants speak about the supernatural regenerative power of the witch herself, her ability to survive her own death, like Gullveig or Kāvyamāta.

As for this regeneration motif, the interesting moment is the eastern Slavic depiction of Baba Jaga being laid in cradle and nursed by nannies. Perhaps it could be interpreted as symbolical expression of Jaga's regenerative abilities as well. Note the birth metaphor used in Völuspā referring to the supernatural regenerative powers of Heiðr's warriors.

Worth attention is also the image of soldier-producing artisans under the command of a hag. Perhaps there is more about this motif than only a picturesque fairy tale way to express the unlimited amount of the hag's human resources. Perhaps it refers to another common aspect of witch-war theme identified above, to the witch's tendency to dominate the baseborn and marginalised groups within the population. Jaga's working-class servants then could be interpreted as structurally equal to loosing Asurāḥ destined to failure under the patronage of Kāvyamāta or the *illrar þjōðar* under the leadership of Heiðr.

2.2.5 Witch-War Theme in Other Slavic Folklore

If the assumption of the significant and territorially extensive existence of witch-war tradition in archaic non-fairy tale and the high layers of Slavic narrative folklore (epos) is accepted, then its traces should be identifiable also in other folklore texts outside the fairy tale tradition. And indeed, in the Slavic speaking territories several sources of different folklore genres contain textual structures which can be easily interpreted as relics of witch-war theme. Comparatively the most significant among them are the stories woven around the character of Saint George.

2.2.5.1 Fight of Saint George Against the Winter

The cult of Saint George originated in the eastern part of the Roman Empire during the 4th century CE. The rapidly rising popularity of this trivial legend (the martyrdom of a Roman soldier) suggests that right from the start it probably infiltrated older concepts and beliefs and then spread on the wings of their popularity. This assumption can be supported by the connection of the cult to generally popular and important agricultural rites and beliefs of the spring season; the death of the hero correlating with the date of Roman Paralia, patronage over the herding and spring agricultural rites, etymology of name Geōrgios, from cgr. *geos* 'earth', cgr. *orge* 'cultivate' (Pilát 2007).

Byzantium seemed to remain the cult's spiritual centre, at least during all its medieval history. Even the George's dragon-slaying mission, an invention of 11th century (probably as a response to the warlike spirit of the crusade period), later on popular especially in Western Europe, is first documented in byzantine Cappadocia. Also in this case it is assumed, that it originated in non-Christian mythological cycles of eastern Roman cultural areas (Pilát 2007).

Probably the domination of the Saint George cult in the Byzantine Empire caused its subsequent popularity among Slavic populations of eastern and southern Europe, as these were during the 2nd half of the 1st millennium CE naturally

Christianised from byzantine centres. Perhaps the very syncretic character of the cult, with its emphasised agricultural aspect (yet still without the dragon-slaying theme), made it an ideal matter to further syncretism, this time with Slavic heathen concepts (Pilát 2007).

And indeed, in the Slavic speaking territories the appearance and function of Saint George differs from the tradition known in the rest of Europe. Instead of the dragon slaying career the responsibility for the wellbeing of plants and animals is emphasized. Saint George is conceptualised as a patron of livestock and wolves, as a distributor of dew through which he "unlocks" the spring season (gate to paradise) and covers the country with the green of the grass and leaves. A Saint George Day ritual song from the Czech territory, being a representative of many other similar examples from the Slavic-speaking area, goes as following:

> Stává svatý Jura a s klúči sa šúrá,
> co by tráva vyrostla nám hrubá.
> Tráva pro kravičky, růža na voničky,
> růža červená a fijala modrá.
>
> (Václavík 1950:33)

> Saint George rises and with keys slowly approaches,
> to make the thick grass grow for us.
> Grass for cows, rose for the parfumes,
> the red rose and the blue violet.

Across the majority of the Slavic territories a common subject of these rituals was the Saint's ride around the country, usually represented by village procession led by young man clad in leaves and flowers as Saint George himself, to awake the world from the winter attenuation. Even when the dragon-slaying episode is rarely present, by its motives (three headed she-dragon, rivers of prosperity) it often differs from the western European patterns.

Reasons for the divergence are probably two; the early spread of stabilised yet archaic (pre-dragon-slaying) byzantine form of a cult into the Slavic areas combined with further syncretism with congruent Slavic heathen concepts (Pilát 2007). Thus it is possible, that in the Slavic periphery of Europe the original eastern Roman syncretic form was conserved as well as enhanced by genuine Slavic ideas. On the contrary, in other areas of progressive western European development the original syncretic form was replaced by new concepts, especially those organised around the dragon-slaying episode popularised via the Golden Legend.

Information brought by the medieval sources describing the western Slavic heathen communities inhabiting the coastal region of Pomerania provides significant support to the assumption about the infiltration of Slavic pre-Christian ideas into

the Slavic Saint George cult. According to Ebbo and Herbordus, the two 12th century bibliographers of Otto von Bamberk, towns like Stettin, Wolgast (Hologost) and Havelberg were the centres of the cult of Slavic heathen god Gerovit.

Ebbo informs that on a certain occasion Gerovit's priest, who for certain reasons pretended to be the god himself, uttered the following words.

> I am your god, I, who clothe the plains with grass and the woods with foliage, the produce of the fields and the trees, the offspring of the flocks and everything that is of use to man are in my power. (The Life of Otto 1920:132)

Regardless of whether this text is based on real utterance or it is rather a matter of the biographer's invention, it is likely that at least to some extent it mirrors the authentic folklore textual structures associated with Gerovit's cultic tradition. The important moment then is – as Pilát (2007) suggested – that by its content it entirely corresponds to the Saint George texts of modern Slavic folklore, particularly that notoriously recurrent part about the bringing of grass and tree's leaves into the post-wintery world as well as the Saint's patronage over the wellbeing of livestock.

According to Ebbo, the main feast of Gerovit took place a few weeks after Easter (The Life of Otto 1920:116), probably in the second half of April according to Ivanov and Toporov (1965). This also matches with the date of Saint George's Day in modern Slavic folklore (Pilát 2007).

Nonetheless, Herebordus mentions also a significant military aspect of Gerovit's cult; patronage over the luck in military affairs, sacred shield as an attribute or god's interpretatio romana labelling Mars.

> There was there hanging on the wall a shield of great size and of marvellous workmanship, covered with sheets of gold, which no human being might touch, because there was in it something sacrosanct and which betokened their pagan religion, so that it would never be moved out of its place save only in time of war. For, as we afterwards found, it was dedicated to their god Gerovit, who in Latin is called Mars, and the people were confident of success in every battle in which it went before them. (The Life of Otto 1920:135)

Perhaps a certain military aspect of Saint George in modern Slavic folklore is not entirely dependent on Golden Legend, especially the motives diverging from the standard dragon-slaying pattern. This matter will be discussed below. So far it is important, that medieval sources prove a non-trivial measure of continuity between Slavic pre-Christian tradition and modern Slavic Saint George cult. This only increases the comparative significance of textual structures discussed in following subsections, which describe the martial conflict between this Saint and his supernatural female adversary.

2.2.5.1.1 Cveten Gəorgi and Juda Samodiva

Typical for the rural areas of Eastern Balkan territory (mainly Bulgaria, Macedonia and partially Serbia) was a homogeneous tradition of spring agriculture rituals connected with Saint George Day. The central event was the offering of a white lamb. Other common rites were the first spring driving of the herd to the pasture or the feminine fertility rituals like bathing in the dew or ritual swinging. Rituals were often accompanied by special ritual songs used only for this occasion.

The main hero of these texts is Cveten Gəorgi (bul. цветен Гьорги) 'George of the Flowers', who, being sent by his mother or sister, rides across the country and spreads the morning dew in order to cover the post-winter landscape with the vegetation green. Cveten Gəorgi often sets on his journey very early in the morning; common is the motif of shoeing his horse still in the dark of the ending night. On his morning ride, he meets representatives of several agricultural professions (herders, ploughmen etc.), who beg him to provide the coming of the spring green in exchange for offered sacrifices (Pilát 2007).

According to the majority of the songs Cveten Gəorgi performs a peaceful ride. Sometimes, however, his action against the winter takes the form of a fight against a villain. Usually the hero's opponent is a three-headed she-dragon (bul., mak. lamia) which *locks the streams*. Gəorgi decapitates the monster to release from the crippled necks the three rivers of certain agricultural products. Nonetheless, in one recorded song the dragon is replaced by a supernatural female being called Juda Samodiva (bul. юда самодива), 'Juda the she-elf'.

Тръгнал ми е цветен Гьорги,
Цветен Гьорги, милен Гьорги,
Рано сутрин на Гергьовден
Да обиди нивен сънор,
Нивен сънор, честа гора.
На път среща стара юда,
Стара юда, самодива.
Тя си кара три синджири,
Три синджири черно робе:
Един синджир се орачи,
Други синджир се овчари,
Трети синджир се копачи.
Орачи се милно молят:
- Отърви ни, цветен Гьорги,
Ще те дарим амбар жито.
Цветен Гьорги отговаря:

George of the Flowers went out,
George of the Flowers, the kind George
Early in the morning of the Saint George Day,
To inspect the borders of his domain,
Of his domain, of the deep forest.
On the way he meets the old Juda,
The old Juda, the she-elf.
She pulls the three chains,
Three chains of the poor prisoners:
The first chain is of the ploughmen,
The second chain is of the herdsmen,
The third chain is of the winemakers.
The ploughmen beg him woefully:
Set us free George of the Flowers,
We will give you a granary of grain.
George of the Flowers replies:

- Не ще Гьорги амбар жито,
Ноло ище превит кравай,
И то да е преди слънце,
Преди слънце, с право сърце.
Овчари се милно молят:
- Отърви ни, цветен Гьорги,
Ще те дарим стадо овци.
Цветен Гьорги отговаря:
- Не ще Гьорги стадо овци,
Ноло ище рудо ягне,
Рудо ягне преди слънце,
Преди слънце с право сърце.
Копачите милно молят:
- Отърви ни, цветен Гьорги,
Цветен Гьорги, милен Гьорги,
Ще те дарим бъчва вино.
Отговаря цветен Гьорги:
- Не ще Гьорги бъчва вино,
Ноло ище ведро вино,
И то да е преди слънце,
Преди слънце с право сърце.
Тръгна сабля цветен Гьорги,
Та посече стара юда,
Та оттъмна черно робе.
Рукнали се до три реки:
Една река бяло мляко,
Бяло мляко по овчари;
Друга река желто жито,
Желто жито по орачи;
Трета река руйно вино,
Руйно вино по копачи.
(Marinov 1994:605)

George does not want a granary of grain,
But he wants the plait of bread,
Yet right before the sunrise,
Before the sunrise, out of the pure heart.
The herdsmen beg him woefully:
Set us free, George of the Flowers,
We will give you a flock of sheep.
George of the Flowers replies:
George does not want a flock of sheep,
But he wants a shaggy lamb,
The shaggy lamb, before the sunrise,
Before the sunrise, out of the pure heart.
The winemakers beg him woefully:
Set us free, George of the Flowers,
George of the Flowers, the kind George
We will give you a barrel of wine.
George of the Flowers replies:
George does not want a barrel of wine,
But he wants a jar of wine,
Yet right before the sunrise,
Before the sunrise, out of the pure heart.
George of the Flowers unsheathed his sabre
And splits open the old Juda
And unties the poor prisoners.
They turned to three rivers:
The first river of a white milk,
The white milk for herdsmen;
The second river of a yellow grain
The yellow grain for ploughmen;
The third river of a red wine,
The red wine for winemakers.

In its trivial folklore layer the text, as all the other of its kind, forms an explanative background to the feast's offering practice. Nonetheless, in the second plane the conflict of a hero with the female demon is presented. And even though it takes the form of a duel rather than war, the collective social context of the event, identified in previous IE examples of witch-war theme, seems to be preserved. The hag is dominating the whole baseborn population. The enslaved representatives

of the three types of commoners' professions could be well interpreted as symbolising the complementarity of the working segment of the society. Thus the motives, which have been identified as typical for the witch-cleansing ideology of the witch-war theme, are present; positively depicted young masculine hero is restoring the prosperity of the society through the witch-cleansing action, i.e. the physical elimination of the witch associated with the baseborn masses.

Johns (2004:69) mentions earlier studies (N. V. Novikov), according to which Juda can be considered to be the south Slavic counterpart of the aforementioned western and eastern Slavic *baba *eŋga*. Given the reality of Slavic hag-war fairy tales analysed above, this moment strengthens the comparative relevance of this Bulgarian variant for the witch-war theme.

These facts also suggest that the significant moment in military function of the Slavic heathen predecessor of Saint George probably was not a fight against a dragon but rather a clash with a supernatural female enemy. Several texts discussed in the following subsections seem to bring further support to this assumption.

2.2.5.1.2 Jegorij Xrabryj and Three Snake Herdesses

One of the typical and socially significant folklore genres of medieval Russia was the tradition of so-called spiritual verses (rus. духовные стихи). Spiritual verses were the orally transmitted songs dealing with various Christian historical, biblical as well as apocryphal themes. Verses were performed by skomoroχi (rus. скоморохи; uncertain /greek?/ etymology), wandering professional entertainers (singers, actors and jugglers) and above all by kaleki pereχožie (rus. калеки перехожие), the wandering (disabled) beggars.

One of the popular subjects of these songs was the character of Saint George, in spiritual verses named as Jegorij Xrabryj, 'George the Valiant'. He is usually depicted as a bogatyr, the knightly heroic warrior, who travels Russia and fights the villains and monsters. Jegorij, however, shows a special appearance of heavenly warrior; his feet are clad in silver, hands in gold, head is covered with hair of pearls and on his head (face, forehead, nape) dwell heavenly bodies like the sun, the moon or stars.

As Pilát (2007) summarized, there are two basic types of spiritual verses on Jegorij Xrabryj. Historically the more recent layer deals with the dragon-slaying theme and textually is more or less dependent on the Golden Legend rendering. An earlier layer of texts, which probably originated in times before 12th century, lacks the dragon slaying theme and contains several unique motives unknown even in archaic byzantine tradition.

From the comparative viewpoint of the witch-war theme the songs of the earlier layer are important. They deliver the tale, which can be divided into two parts.

The first one is loosely based on pre-dragon-slaying byzantine tradition. The heathen emperor Damian torments Jegorij to make him deny his Christian belief. Nonetheless, the hero, being protected by the power of his belief, supernaturally resists all the harm done to him. Therefore the emperor at least buries George alive in the grave, in some variants together with his mother, where he stays for decades.

The second part of the song, textually independent of any byzantine model, describes the hero's relief and subsequent marvellous journey to revenge on the emperor. The entombed Jegorij is released by the winds which answer his request, often commanded to do so by Virgin Mary, and blow away all the sands covering his prison. With blessing which he asked for and obtained from his mother he travels to emperor.

On his journey he encounters several obstacles; the impassable sleeping forests, fiery river, pass between mountains constantly crushing into each other, a pack of hostile wolves and snakes, enchanted hostile sisters, etc. These events are often conceptualised as if to demonstrate, along the mandatory theme of the power of Christian belief, the hero's power over the natural phenomena. He commands the sleeping forests to awake, hostile mountains or wolves to step aside, etc.

Да што святой-то Егорий тогда поезжаючи,	In that time Saint George rode,
Да што святую веру Егорий утверждаючи,	George who the holy faith strengthened,
Да што святой Егорий тогда наедучи,	In that time Saint George encountered,
Да што на те леса дремучие.	Those the sleeping forests.
Да што ко сырой-то земли леса клонятся,	The forests to the wet earth slant,
Дак от сырой-то земли леса ту отклонятся,	The forests from wet earth lift,
Да што святому Егорию нельза проехати,	Thus it is impossible for George to pass
Да што свет и Храброму нельза и подумати.	Impossible for the light and the Valiant one to muse.
Да што святой-то Егорий проговаривал,	So the Saint George uttered thus,
Да што свет и Храбрый проглаголивал:	The light and the Valiant one spoke thus:
„Дак вы, гой еси, вы леса дремучие,	'O you sleeping forests,
Дак отделяйтесь, леса, дак от сырой земли.	Rise, o forests, from the wet earth.
Да я из вас, леса, да буду строити,	For I, o forests, will build of you
Да буду строити церквы совборныя	I will build churches the congregational
Да церквы совборныя богомольиыя."	Congregational churches the prayerful.'
Да за Егорьево всё видь умоление,	For all the George's prayer,
Да за Егорьево всё видь претерпение,	For all the George's martyrdom,
Дак отделялись леса от сырой земли.	The forests rose from the wet earth.
Дак вот святой-то Егорий тогда поезжаючи,	In that time Saint George rode
Дак святую веру утверждаючи,	And the holy faith strengthened,

Дак што святой-то Егорий тогда наехавши,
Дак он на стало на серых волков,
На серых волков на прыскучиих.
Да што нельза Егорию проехати,
Да што нельза никак и подумати.
Да што святой-то Егорий проговаривал,
Да што свет и Храбрый проглаголивал:
„Да уж вы, гой еси, волыки прыскучие,
Расходитесь, волыки, по всёй земли,
Да вы по всёй земли, по святой Руси,
Да где вы по тры, по два, по единому,
Да покушайте, волыки, всё по-веленному.“
Да всё за Егорьево умоление,
Да за его, за святого, претерпение,
Расходилися волки по всёй земли,
Да што по всёй земли, да по святой Руси,
Да где оны по тры, по два, по единому,
Дак оны кушали волки по-веленному.

In that time Saint George encountered
A pack of grey wolves,
The swift grey wolves.
So it is impossible for George to pass
It is impossible in any way to muse.
So Saint George uttered thus,
The light and the Valiant one spoke thus:
‘Now, you, the swift wolves,
Scatter, o wolves, across the whole earth,
across the whole earth, across the holy Russia,
in trinities, in pairs, one by one,
And feed, o wolves, all as commanded.’
All for George’s prayer,
All for Saint’s martyrdom,
Scattered the wolves across the whole earth,
Across the whole earth, across the holy Russia,
In trinities, in pairs, one by one,
And they fed, the wolves, as commanded.

(Stiχi Duχovnye 1991:114)

In some variants the motif of hostile snakes and sisters are joined; the hero encounters a pack of snakes herded by his three heathen sisters. Jegorij persuades his sisters to go and baptize in the river Jordan and then slays unprotected snakes of theirs by his magical arrows. This fight with the sisters’ snake army is usually depicted as a last and most serious obstacle before the very encounter with the emperor:

Да видь што святой-то Егорий поезжаючи,
Дак он святую веру утверждаючи,
Да видь святой-то Егорий тогда наехавши,
Да видь он на то на стадо на змеиное,
Да змеиное стадо, на лукавое.
Да што пасли это стадо три пастыря,
Да три пастыря, да красиыя девицы.
Да што святой-то Егорий проговаривал,
Да свет и Храбрый Егорий проглаголивал:
"Дак ой уже вы, гой еси, да три пастыря,
Да три пастыря, да красиыя девицы,

As in that time Saint George rode,
As the holy faith strengthened,
In that time Saint George encountered
He encountered a herd of snakes,
The herd of snakes the cunning.
The herd herded the three herders,
The three herders, the beautiful maidens.
So Saint George uttered thus,
The light and Valiant George spoke thus:
‘Now, you, the three herders,
The three herders, the beautiful maidens,

Дак вы откудова, да три пастыря,
Дак вы которого дак вы и города,
Дак вы которого да отца-матери?"
"Дак уж мы города Ерусалимова,
Дак отца Фёдора до Благоверного,
Дак наша мати София да Премудрая."
"Дак уже и гой еси, да трии пастыря,
Да трии пастыря, да красиыя девицы,
Да видь вы поднимыя да мои сестрисы,
Да видь вы пасли стадо змеиное,
Да видь вы окаянного духу нахвателися,
Да вы сходите в Ердан-реку искупайтеся."
Да видь святой Егорий свет и Храбрыи,
Да видь стругал Егорий стружки дубовыя,
Да видь ко стружкам проговаривал:
"Да видь обращайтеся, стружки, в калены стрелы,
Да видь што побейте змеёнышей,
Да видь змеиное стадо лукавое!"
Обращались стружки в калёны стрелы,
Побили стадо змеиное,
Змеиное стадо лукавое,
Да всё за Угорьево умоление,
Да за его, святого, претерпение.
(Stiχi Duχovnye 1991:114–115)

Where you come from, the three herders,
From which city you come from,
From which father and mother?'
'We come from the city of Jerusalem,
From father Fedor the Pious,
From mother Sofia the Wise.'
'So, you, the three herders,
The three herders, the beautiful maidens,
You appear to be the sisters of mine,
And you herded the flock of snakes,
It is because you had breathed the ocean air,
Now go to the river of Jordan to bath.'
Then Saint George the light and the Valiant,
George started to grate the chips of oak,
And to those chips he told:
'Turn, o chips, to the hardened arrows,
To defeat the snake kin,
The herd of snakes the cunning!'
The chips turned to hardened arrows,
They defeated the herd of snakes,
The herd of snakes the cunning,
All for George's prayer,
All for Saint's martyrdom.

Again, the basic pattern of a witch-war theme, an open battle of a masculine hero against a supernatural army commanded by a supernatural anti-system female element, seems to be preserved. And again, as in the case of Cveten Gəorgi, the entire theme is conceptualised around the figure of a hero, who is depicted as the holy warrior of nature. And even though the restoration of the prosperity theme takes the form of Christian belief consolidation, probably due to the orientation of the genre, still the Christian aspect seems to remain rather superficial here. And conversely, Jegorij's power over nature, markedly along the lines identified above (reign over the forests and wolves, awakening the vegetation) appears to be the narrative's textual core.

The basic pattern of the narrative resembles the Bulgarian variant; with the support of a positive female element (help of the Virgin Mary, blessing of the mother Sofia), out from the dark (of the prison), the hero sets out on the journey

to restore the order of nature (to wake up the forests) and to perform the fight against the anti-system female principle. The image of the hero's field battle against the female-commanded demonic hordes (the herd of snakes) makes this Russian tradition closer to the identified pattern of a witch-war theme than it is in the case of its Bulgarian cognate.

2.2.5.1.3 Jegorij Xrabryj and Krivda

For some peripheral parts of Russia, even in the first half of the 20th century the presence of bylina tradition was common. Bylina (rus. былина), '(some)thing that was/happened', is the word chosen by Russian folklorists of Romanticism to name the orally transmitted heroic poems circulating among the peasant population, especially in the north-eastern territories of Russia. The narrators and the audience itself used to call these poems starina (rus. старина), 'an old thing'. The singer of bylina tradition was called skaziteľ (rus. сказитель), 'a narrator'; usually a member of a local community specialised (though not professionalised) in singing bylinas at various communal events.

As any narrative tradition kept by a community of narrative experts, bylinas were textually systematised and stabilised across relatively large areas. It consisted of more or less standardised, if varied, textual patterns; each of the main heroic characters, bogatyrs, was associated with a fixed set of features and sujets more or less unique to him.

The existence of the bylina tradition was noticed in the 17th century, though systematic research and collections emerged only during the 19th century. Among scholars (De Vries 1963, Oinias 1971, Karbusický 1995) it is commonly agreed, that at least the core of bylinas historically originated in the courtly epic of eastern Slavic princedoms during the high or even early medieval period. It is assumed, that after the destruction of these princedoms due to the Mongol incursion in 13th century, remnants of their courtly epos were preserved in the repertoire of skomoroχi. Officials' repressions, which intensified from the 17th century, pushed skomoroχi to peripheral parts of the Russian state were they gradually perished. However, before their extinction some parts of their heroic epic repertoire were adopted by local narrative specialists, like skaziteli for instance.

The assumption of the medieval origin of bylina tradition is based on textual as well as historical evidence (De Vries 1963, Karbusický 1995, Oinias 1971). Textual evidence is obvious; for the songs typical are positively depicted scenes of hunting, fighting and warfare, of princes and their retinues and nobly feasting heroes boasting about their military achievements, all the typical medieval aristocratic amusements. As for the evidence of historical sources, the existence of courtly professionals providing the panegyric songs to their lords is directly mentioned in

Russian sources since the 13th century (Oinias 1971). Also in the aforementioned Þiðreks saga the eastern heroes Ilias and Valdemar are mentioned; no doubt the predecessors of Prince Vladimir and his "first knight" Iľja Muromec, the main characters of the modern bylina tradition (De Vries 1963). Therefore it can be reasonably expected, that some bylinas deliver the ancient textual structures of narrative folklore, even common IE topics.

Perhaps this is the case of a song depicting the battle of the main bylina heroes against the Mongol/Islamic (Tatar) hordes led by she-demon Krivda ('Falsehood') and the Antichrist himself. It was recorded by N. Mišejev in 1925 in Vologoda District (rus. Вологодская область). Mišejev had the luck, at least he claims so, to watch its performance in a truly natural context; being an unnoticed member of the evening storytelling session, which used to take place in the hut of an eighty years old *granny Pelageia*, the famous local bylina singer (Proročeskaja bylina ... 1992:19).

As for its general genre content, the song is textually heterogeneous. First, it represents a mixture between warlike Kiev bylina cycle (heroes like Iľja Muromec, Dobryňa Nikitič and Aľoša Popovič) and more mercantile-oriented Novgorod bylina cycle (Vaska Buslajev, Ivan Gostinov). Second, it shows an influence of spiritual verses tradition; presence of the motive of the destruction of Russia due to the incursion of heathen nomadic army connected with hope for final Reconquista as well as presence of the characters like Archangel Michael, Virgin Mary, Antichrist and, again, Jegorij Xrabryj.

As for its context of tradition, the song is a variation on a traditional sujet depicting the last battle of Russian bogatyrs and their final extinction. According to tradition, one day they performed a light-headed attack on a supernatural enemy whose warriors are capable of resurrection. Sooner or later the heroes were outnumbered. They were forced to retreat and finally turned to stone as a punishment for their sin of pride.

In this case the stone-turning moment is varied to the motif of imprisonment in the caves of the Holy Mountains. In accordance with bylina tradition, the Holy Mountains are depicted as transformation or alter ego of giant bogatyr Jegor Svjatogor, the former close friend and mentor of Iľja Muromec.

The sujet begins with the scene of heroic watch. Patrolling on the border of Mother Russia, the five heroes encounter a couple of heavenly warriors, namely Jegorij Xrabryj and Archangel Michael. Blinded by the self-confidence, bogatyrs are unable to recognise their identity and decide to attack them. However, every slayed enemy is immediately resurrected twice. Soon they are heavily outnumbered and forced to retreat. They are received and sheltered by Svjatogor. Within his caves they all fall asleep magically, except Iľja. Being the oldest and most serious of all the bogatyrs, he stays awake and prays for forgiveness. He is listened to by Virgin Mary, who feels pity for the bogatyrs' fate as well as for the fate of

Russian people left unprotected against the hordes of she-demon Krivda. Therefore she approaches the Throne of God and begs Christ to forgive the heroes their vanity. Christ agrees and Svjatogor is commanded to release the prisoners. Being free again, they build a camp near the river Safat. Next morning they witness the arrival of a huge army from beyond the river. Il'ja recognizes that it is led not only by Krivda, but also some other dark, yet unknown character, who stands behind the she-demon.

Bogatyrs start to fight her host but even after the thirty days of heavy battle the number of enemies does not decrease. Il'ja gets close to the Krivda herself and intends to attack her but in the final moment the she-demon disappears.

Стали они силу Кривды колоть-рубить.
Не столько витязи рубят,
Сколько добрые кони их топчут.
Как взмахнет меч булатной Ильи - просека видна!
В лоб на Кривду пошел Муромец.
Показалась она... Огромадная вся...
Одним глазом глядит... Кривобокая!
Песье рыло заместо лица,
Языком, что с версту, обтирается.
Булавой в сорок пуд размахнулся Илья...
Потемнело в глазах, подвернулась нога,
-С пустым местом борьба не под силу...
Когда встал, Кривды нет... На просеках везде
Полным-полно опять черной рати...
Тридцать ден, три часа, три минуточки
Смертным боем таким бились витязи...
Утомились их плечи могутные.
Уходились их кони добрые,
Иступились мечи их булатные,
А Кривда все с боем идет,
Все новую силу с боем ведет,

(Proročeskaja bylina ... 1992:52)

They began to hew and slaughter the army of Falsehood.
Not so much did the heroes hew it,
As the good steeds trampled it down.
As the steel blade of Ilya swings, a gap is seen.
The Muromets bore straight on the front of Falsehood.
There she stood all enormous,

Facing him with her one eye, standing lopsided,
Muzzle of hound instead of face,
And licks herself with her tongue a verst long.
The thousand-pound mace of Ilya went swinging.
His eyes grew dizzy, his food stumbled.
To fight an empty space was beyond his power.
When he stood up, Falsehood was not there...yet everywhere
in the gaps the black army stood full as full again.
...For thirty days, three hours and three minutes
The heroes fought in so deathly a battle.
Their sturdy shoulders flagged,
Their good steeds gave way,
Their swords of steal were blunted,
And Falsehood still came on to the attack.
Always she brought new hosts into the battle,

(A Heroic Legend... 1935:20)

Il'ja calls the weary heroes to take time-out and hold a council. Here Jegorij Xrabryj himself appears among them. Bogatyrs recognise him, and realising their past sin of fight against the heavenly characters, they ask George for forgivness.

Почал звать эсаулов - своих товарищей
На последний совет, на завещанной.
Побежали они вчетвером, становилися:
Усталые, исхудалые, почерневшие, потемневшие.
Только слово свое Илья молвил, вздохнув,
Как приметил, что витязей больше: всех пятеро!
Диво-дивное! Чудо-чудное!
Захотел опросить, да, взглянув, опознал
Одного из воителей, от которых бежал в горы каменные.
Опознали все витязи, опознав, признали
Вернова братца свово названого - Егория Храброва.
Склонились от стыда жгучева головы витязей.
Над кем хвастались?.. С кем боролися? Ково испужалися?

(Proročeskaja bylina ... 1992:53)

He started to call his captains, his comrades
To a last and secret council.

They ran up, all four, they stood around him,
Weary and faint, blackened and darkened.
But he saw there were more of them, five in all.
Marvel of marvels, wonder of wonders.
He wanted to ask, but as he looked he knew.
'Twas one of those warriors from whom he had run
to the stony mountains.
It was their faithful brother, George the Valiant.
The heroes bowed their heads with burning shame.
To whom had they boasted, with whom had they
fought, of whom were they afraid?
(A Heroic Legend... 1935:21)

Jegorij Xrabryj forgives them and introduces Archangel Michael, who also joined the meeting but remained unseen so far. The Archangel accepts the heroes' apology as well. With new heavenly support bogatyrs renew the fight. Both celestial warriors successfully break into the centre of the hostile army where this time Jegorij intends to attack Krivda herself.

В напередней стороне к шатру высокому самой Кривды,
Кривды самой одноглазой и хранителя ее незнаемова,
Архангел Михаил и Егорий Храброй без устали пробиваются.
Вот уж и малое поле, чистое-невеликое,
Чистое-невеликое между силами нездешними,
Силами небесными, силами пододонными
Для Беликова боя, не людскова боя, взору открывается.
И возгорелось сердце ретивое, юное у Егория Храброва,
И соколом ясным наперед Михаила Архангела
Бросался он на Кривду одноглазую...
(Proročeskaja bylina ... 1992:56-57)

On the front, toward the high tent Of one-eyed Falsehood
herself and her unknown guardian,
Archangel Michael and George the Valiant
Are tirelessly making their way.
And see now a small place, bare, not great,
Bare, not great, between the unearthly forces,
Between the powers of heaven and the underground forces,
Opens to the eye for the great battle, the more than human battle.
And the leaping, youthful heart of George the Valiant was aflame,

And like a sharp-eyed hawk, in front of Archangel Michael,
He threw himself on one-eyed Falsehood...

(A Heroic Legend... 1935:25-26)

In the last moment Jegorij is paralyzed by the sight of Antichrist, who appears to stand behind Krivda, being disguised as Christ himself.

...затряслися ноженьки серебряные у Егория,
Занемели рученьки его золотые,
Замораживалось сердце Святова Егория,
Замалкивал он, как молотом пришибленной,
Заволакивались глазки ево прекрасные,
Закрывались ушки ево под кудрями светло-русыми,
Делался Егорий камнем мертвым, железом окованным...
Увидел Егорий рядом со Кривдою
Самова Христа, Цара Небеснова,
Темным взором на нево,
На Егория Храброва, гневно глядевшева...

(Proročeskaja bylina ... 1992:57)

...his silver-clad legs trembled,
His gold-clad arms went numb,
The heart of Saint George was freezing,
And he fell dumb, as if crushed by a hammer,
And his beauteous eyes were clouded,
His ears were shrouded beneath his bright chestnut curls,
George became like a dead stone, like beaten iron.
George had seen at the side of Falsehood
Christ himself, the King of Heaven,
Gazing at him with darkened eyes,
Gazing in anger at George the Valiant...

(A Heroic Legend... 1935:26)

But not so Archangel Michael; in spite of the Antichrist power he attacks Krivda and decapitates her.

То не вихрь-буря с окияна-моря вырвалась,
То не гром-молния дуб могучий в клочья расщепила!
То Архаигел Михаил орлом взвился над Кривдою,
Мечом огненным ей снося голову.

(Proročeskaja bylina ... 1992:57)

> It was no whirlwind of storm, rushing from the sea of ocean,
> It was no thunder and lightning splitting the mighty oak to pieces,
> It was the archangel Michael soaring like an eagle over Krivda,
> And with his sword of fire cutting off her head.
>
> (A Heroic Legend... 1935:26)

Jegorij Xrabryj recovers from the paralysis and all the hostile army, being deprived of its commander, is routed. The Antichrist steps out of his disguise and takes the form of a giant raven. Michael duels with him and banishes him from the country.

The general textual pattern of witch-war theme seems to be clear. Bogatyrs are representatives of the community par excellence. They are positively depicted, being the defenders of the holy Mother Russia, her people and religion. And these "good guys" are engaged in war with a hostile army led by a she-demon.

In spite of the expectation resulting from the context of tradition, though entirely in accordance with the identified witch-war pattern, even though they are the best warriors in the world, they are unable to defeat Krivda's forces by conventional military means. Like in former comparative counterparts, the motif of crisis meeting is present. Astonished heroes hold a council to decide how to deal with the unexpected problems. Subsequently, their final victory is secured only by the crucial support of powerful supernatural agents.

Again here emerge a cooperative couple of main heroes, supernatural beings par excellence, whose presence is essential for the final victory (Indra & Viṣṇu; Jegorij Xrabryj & Archangel Michael). Paralysis of the "next best" of this heavenly couple (Indra, Jegorij Xrabryj) is overcome only by the power of the supreme leader (Viṣṇu, Archangel Michael).

On the villain's side operates a male-female couple of leaders (Hertnið & Ostasia; Śukra & Kāvyamāta; Antichrist & Krivda). Due to the magical powers of the evil side (Gullveig Heiðr), particularly the bounding/paralysing ability (Ostasia, Kāvyamāta), in this case realised as the paralysis of Jegorij Xrabryj caused by the sight of Antichrist, the "good guys" are almost turned to losers.

The Slavic *out of the dark* motif with certain feminine aspect is present as well; just like Cveten Gəorgi or Jegorij Xrabryj of spiritual verses, heroes are imprisoned within the dark caves and then released with the help of positive female element. The comparative relevance of this resemblance is only strengthened by the fact, that bogatyrs perform their subsequent war against the witch under the leadership of Jegorij Xrabryj himself.

Perhaps the main difference between this bylina and analysed Bulgarian text is then the return to the original political character of the witch-war theme. The prosperity of the nature, so typical for Slavic Gerovit/Saint George tradition, is missing

here. In this regard the text is closer to rather politically engaged aforementioned cognates of Germanic and Indic epos or to the Slavic hag-war fairy tale tradition.

The assumption about the ancient origin of this bylina seems to be supported also by its textual closeness, and especially through this *out of the dark* motif, to the background story of another archaic IE epos. According to Mahābʰārata, its five main heroes represent the incarnations of five personalities/aspects of Indra, who had been imprisoned inside the cave for their lack of respect shown to the heavenly majesty of Śiva. The last, fifth Indra is imprisoned after he is paralysed by the touch of Śiva's female companion. They all are allowed to leave the prison and regain their celestial status only through living in the bodies of mortal men. Thus, in both cases the committed crime is of the same nature; the abusive behaviour towards the superior supernatural agent. In both cases heroes are released in order to perform the purifying war against the evil in the world of mortals. An interesting moment is also the presence of paralysis cast on hero (Jegorij, Indra) by the superior yogic-sorcerous male-female couple, usually by its female part (Śiva's female companion, Śukra's Kāvyamāta, Antichrist & Krivda).

Through this comparative connection to Mahābʰārata, in this story the general feminine aspect of the witch-war theme is more obvious. Heroes fight the army of a supernaturally disposed female being (Heiðr, Ostasia, Kāvyamāta, Ježibaba, Krivda, Juda) and their success is sometimes associated with the support of another supernaturally disposed female being (hag's maid, Virgin Mary, Saint George's mother). In this light the function of the Devī in the above analysed variant of witch-war theme in the Devī Bʰāgavata Purāna appears to be not so unnatural after all. Though emphasised awkwardly, considering the structure of the sujet, perhaps the motive of her intervention as a crucial moment in salvation of losing masculine heroes is truly based on original narrative background of witch-war theme.

The sex of the storyteller seems to be less significant in this regard. A feminisation of storytelling was the general tendency of modern times, caused by the decreasing social prestige and functionality of this art. However, to some degree this moment could help to emphasize themes, which would be otherwise, for instance in the case of masculine-disposed storytelling, left peripheral. Thus the previously noticed feature of textual as well as contextual peripherality of the witch-war theme is preserved also in this bylina.

2.2.5.2 Banishing Winter

In Slavic speaking territories since the medieval period the occurrence of the special sort of spring rituals of *banishing winter* is attested. A dummy figurine of a hag, symbolising winter, was carried away out of the village in a procession. After reaching the borders of the village, sometimes bank of the river, it was ritually

destroyed; stoned, torn apart, burned, buried or thrown into the water. The hag figurine was called differently, depending on the region, though most often by variations on name Morena (perhaps from pie. **mer-* 'to harm', 'to die').

In the eastern Slavic area an interesting ritual variant of banishing winter ritual is attested (Slavjanskie drevnosti... 1999:83; Slavjanskie drevnosti... 2004:182). Here the destruction of a dummy hag was preceded by the ritual battle. One group of participants, usually girls, defended Morena, while the other one, boys, tried to take off her parts, clothes or decorations, seize her etc. The defending side lost after all and together they destroyed the figurine as usual.

This kind of rite seems to be comparatively important. It can be easily interpreted as a ritual counterpart of Slavic witch-war narratives. Representatives of the community make a collective battle against the army of disorder led by the female principle of death, winter and witchcraft personified in the single female character – in this case a figurine of winter hag. Note that in analysed western Slavic variant of hag-war fairy tale Ježibaba is shouting her commands from the wooden construction, being lifted over her army. This scene possibly refers to ritual battle when Morena, traditionally made on a wooden stick and carried in procession lifted above the heads, is defended by an "army" of girls against the "army" of boys.

There is no intention here to enter the never-ending debate concerning the mutual myth and ritual relationship, the issue of possible connection between certain rite and certain myth as its possible archaic though already unnoticed narrative background. However, the eastern Slavic battle variation on banishing the winter is one of the examples, when ritual behaviour seems to express the narrative patterns typical for the Slavic variations on witch-war theme. In the following section certain aspects of this matter are briefly discussed.

2.2.5.3 Broader Folklore Background

It was demonstrated that a certain group of rare but extensively occurring and mutually coherent Slavic narratives behind the rites associated with Saint George Day tell the story of a positive masculine hero, who battles the forces of infertility and nature's disorder associated with female demonic principle, often supported by the demonic army. At the same time, variants of a different feast's rite, banishing winter ritual, simulate the struggle, and sometimes explicitly battle, of the community's representatives against the (army of a) dummy hag associated with dark powers and infertility of the winter. The semantic connection of both ritual concepts suggests that they are possibly rooted in the same archaic tradition.

This assumption cannot be easily rejected as an *ex post* construction. There are folklore texts which prove that the people themselves were aware of their possible intrinsic relationship. In the following verses from the Moravian territory (eastern part of Czech Republic), Carling Sunday, a day traditionally reserved for banishing winter ritual, is put into the direct connection with the ideology of Saint George Day:

Smrtná neděla, kdes klíče poděla?
Dala sem ho, dala, svatému Juří,
aby nám otevřel do ráje dveří,
aby Juří vstal, pole odmykal,
aby tráva rostla,tráva zelená.
(Vetterl & Jelínková 1955:110)

Carling Sunday, where have you lost the key?
I gave it, I gave it, to Saint George,
To open for us the door to Paradise,
To George to rise, to unlock the fields
To make the grass grow, the grass of the green.

Concerning this connection, even more interesting is the text of certain Slovenian ritual song of Saint George Day. It was sung a procession of five lads, walking through the village. The most handsome amidst them, with clothes all covered by flowers or ivy, represented the Zeleni Jurij, 'Green George'. The ritual was finished on a meadow outside the village, where Jurij symbolically fought and defeated demon Rabolj, another masked boy clad in fur or straw. It all clearly refers to the theme of Saint George's fight against the winter, but this time winter season's Morena-like female agent was in lads' song explicitly titled Ježibaba.

Zelenega Jurja vodimo,
Ježibabo zganjamo.
Maslo in jajca prosimo,
mladoletje trošimo.
(Štrekelj 1904-1907:141)

With the Green George we walk,
Ježibaba we drive away.
For butter and eggs we ask,
Young year we bring in.

Seasonal as well as semantic correlation of both the Saint George and Morena/*Eŋga concepts suggests that they probably represented the two relic branches of the same tradition, Slavic variation on the witch-war theme.

And perhaps it is not only the matter of traditionally Slavic areas. Also in Tyrolian folklore the existence of a ritual is attested, in which the two groups of people, *the beautiful ones* and *the ugly ones*, fought each other for the fertile harvest (Ginzburg 1992:57). In certain Swiss areas on the first of March two groups of young people used to battle ritually each other to demonstrate the defeat of winter in order *to make the grass grow* (Ginzburg 1992:185).

As Ginzburg (1992:25) noticed, Slavic banishing winter ritual can be considered a part of a broader group of archaic rituals relating to the theme of struggle with the powers of infertility. Among the European peasant population their existence is attested since the medieval period up to modern times. A part of these rituals were performed seasonally, especially during the spring. Their variations were more or less similar to the presented Slavic pattern of a dummy hag procession.

Another group was represented by less directly ritual, rather narrative tradition. The typical example here is the concept of northern Italian Benandanti, Baltic werewolves or south Slavic Zduhaći (Ginzburg 1992, Začević 1981, Đorđević 1953) to mention only few examples. These names designate the groups of people, usually viewed positively by their communities (pious, just, cooperative), who were believed to practice individual as well as collective fights against the forces of agricultural infertility. Clashes were spiritual by their nature; these crop defenders performed their actions either in a night sleep or trance, through their spirits detached from their bodies. Hostile forces were mostly represented by hordes of witches, demons, souls of the dead people, foreign crop defenders etc. In certain cases the presence of female principle on the demonic side, sometimes even in the leading position, is mentioned (Ginzburg 1992, Začević 1981). Victory of the crop defenders meant the repudiation of incoming drought, crop failure or storms threatening the yield.

In the year 1580 a Benandanti of Cividale described his mission during the inquisition interrogation as following.

> 'I am a benandante because I go with the others to fight four times a year, that is during the Ember Days, at night; I go invisibly in spirit and the body remains behind; we go forth in the service of Christ, and [against] the witches of the devil; we fight each other, we with bundles of fennel and they with sorghum stalks. ... In the fighting that we do, one time we fight over the wheat and all the other grains, another time over the livestock, and at other times over the vineyards. And so, on four occasions we fight over all the fruits of the earth and for those things won by the benandanti that year is abundance.' (Ginsburg 1992:6)

Interesting about the southern European crop defenders' tradition is also the existence of functional hierarchal pairs, similar to those recognised in previously analysed texts. Groups of Benandanti/Zduhaći were usually commanded by a captain. He often visited his men "personally" (though in a spiritual form) to call them to battle. But in some cases, especially when it was the first, initiation experience, they were called by supernatural being (God, Angel, Devil), namely by an angel in the case of Benandanti:

> The angel of God...at night, in my house, perhaps during the fourth hour of the night, at first sleep...an angel appeared before me, all made of gold, like those on altars, and he called me, and my spirit went out. ... He called me by name, saying: 'Paolo, I will send you forth as a benandante and you will have to fight for the crops.' I answered him: I will go, I am obedient.' (Ginsburg 1992:10)

These functional hierarchal pairs, captain & soldier or angel & soldier are similar to already identified couples of supreme element and his protégé. In the case of bogatyrs' battle against Krivda there is resemblance even in the mixed worldly-heavenly character of the couple; in a special situation they are supervised by archangel/heavenly warrior (Michael/ Jegorij Xrabryj) just like benandante is called to his service by an angel.

And there is also mutual consistency, at least with Slavic Saint George tradition, concerning the general ecological, pro-agricultural character of crop defenders' activity.

Thus the folklore concepts of crop defenders seems to be important, as it presents once again, and with certain striking comparative parallelism, the theme of a fight against the forces of disorder, often directly the theme of collective battle against she-witch's demonic army.

In the case of Benandanti, the anti-female character of their activities does not seem to be emphasised. Also the adversaries of Baltic werewolves (of German, Livonian as well as Russian ethnicity), who, according to tradition, were able to free their spirits in night trance in the form of a wolf in order to fight the demons and witches stealing the yield and taking it away to hell (Ginsburg 1992:29-32), are sexually undifferentiated. The very contra-feminine aspect of defenders' action was present especially in Slavic environment. In some South Slavic territories the crop defender was known as dragon man. His archenemy was female demon Ala, who flies with the storm clouds (a feature typical also for Baba Jaga) and casts torrents and hail upon the crops. A dragon man was believed to fight her in a spiritual dragon form in order to protect the local harvest (Začević 1981).

Together with the banishing winter rituals, the tradition of crop defenders can be interpreted as another traditional folklore concept referring to the theme of a martial struggle, often battle, against the disorder represented by demonic fe-

male principle. Since the spring prosperity battle rituals, and especially the concept of crop defenders, were rather less common in Western Europe, Ginzburg (1992) persistently considered their possible Balto-Slavic origin. However, broader European occurrence of crop defenders tradition as well as its semantical connection to witch-war theme identified in ancient narratives across all the IE linguistic area, speaks rather for their assessment in broader territorial as well as semantic context.

And truly, an interesting example in this regard is provided by Iranian Zoroastrian tradition, namely in the concept of Fraŋaši. Fraŋaši are supernatural beings of general functionality. In some texts they are described as spirits of the dead or unborn humans. In other occasions they act like genuine angel-like servants of supreme god Ahura Mazda. They provide the broad portfolio of tasks; from ensuring the proper function of the universe to supporting the supernatural as well as earthly beings in fights and battles. Generally, their military nature is often emphasized.

However, in the Fraŋardīn Jašt of Avesta, which is dedicated directly to Fraŋaši, there are verses referring to these spirits in a way close to European crop defenders tradition.

65
āaṯ. yaṯ. āpō. uzbarəṇte.
spitama. zaraθuštra.
zraiianŋhaṯ. haca. vourukašāṯ.
xvarənasca. yaṯ. mazdaδātəm.
āaṯ. frašūsəṇti.
uγrā̊. ašāunąm. frauuašaiiō.
paoirīš. pouru.satā̊.
paoirīš. pouru.hazaŋrā̊.
paoirīš. pouru.baēuuanō.

66
āpəm. aēšəmnā̊.
hauuāi. kāciṯ. nāfāi.
hauuaiiāi. vīse.
hauuāi. zaṇtauue.
hauuaiiāi. daińhauue.
uitiiaojanā̊:
xvaēpaiθe. nō. daińhuš.
niδātaēca. haošātaēca.

67
tā̊. yūiδiieiṇti. pəšanāhu.
hauue. asahi. šōiθraēca.
yaθa. asō. maēθanəmca.
aiβišitəe. daδāra.
mąnaiiən. ahe.
yaθa.nā. taxmō. raθaēštā̊.
huš.hąm.bərətaṯ. haca. šaētāṯ.
yastō.zaēniš. paiti.γnīta.

68
āaṯ. yā̊sca. āŋhąm. niuuānəṇte.
tā̊. āpəm. parāzəṇti.
hauuāi. kāciṯ. nāfāi.
hauuaiiāi. vīse.
hauuāi. zaṇtauue.
hauuaiiāi. daińhauue.
uitiiaojanā̊:
xvaēpaiθe. nō. daińhuš.
fraδātaēca. varəδātaēca.

(Jt 13.65-68; Avesta)

65. And when the waters come up from the sea Vouru-Kaša, O Spitama Zaraθuštra! along with the glory made by Mazda, then forwards come the awful Fraŋaši of the faithful, many and many hundreds, many and many thousands, many and many tens of thousands,
66. Seeking water for their own kindred, for their own borough, for their own town, for their own country, and saying thus: 'May our own country have a good store and full joy!'
67. They fight in the battles that are fought in their own place and land, each according to the place and house where he dwelt: they look like a gallant warrior who, girded up and watchful, fights for the hoard he has treasured up.
68. And those of them who win bring waters to their own kindred, to their own borough, to their own town, to their own country, saying thus: 'May my country grow and increase!'

(The Zend Avesta...:196; Avestan nouns standardised)

The Fraŋaši of these lines are fighters, and again in spiritual form, for the prosperity of their own community. They are able take part in battles to secure the wellbeing of their land through bringing certain commodities, namely water, from neighbouring areas.

2.3 Composing the Indo-European Witch-Hunting Myth

Previous analysis demonstrated that the witch-war theme appeares recurrently in different time and space locations as well as in various social contexts, while still maintaining its internal structural (textual, ideological) coherency. Even its rather peripheral character, i.e. an occurrence in geographically (peripheral areas of Europe), socially (bhaktism in India, peasant Slavic environment) or ideologically (feminine aspect and witchcraft) marginal settings shows the systematic recurrent nature. All this indicates that even if the witch-war myth probably did not represent a dominant part of IE traditions (like the dragon-slaying or creation myth), it can still be considered to be a germane concept, popular at least among certain groups or social strata of IE populations.

Again, myth is not the record of history. It would be naïve to see in this kind of narratives an account of real war by which society was created. It is rather a story to legitimise social hierarchy, as Mallory remarked in the case of the class conflict theme (Mallory 1989:139). If certain impulses from historical reality should be searched for, then perhaps it could be the occasional local rebellions of subordinated masses. Nonetheless, I suppose that the "off-line" socially educative nature of the text still is more important.

Anthropological analysis suggests that myth's dualistic witch-hunting ideology is typical for groups with strong boundaries. In the previous chapter it was demonstrated that since the earliest times, IE communities were dominated by elite male groups, professionally specialised to the affairs of warfare and politics. Exclusivity of these groups predestines them to be one of the hot candidates for dualistic witch-hunting thinking. Nevertheless, dualistic *us and them* worldview is often typical also for the local "petty" reasoning of simple egalitarian communities. From the viewpoint of folkloristics, since the early PIE period there can be assumed a continuous pressure of favourable circumstances, across all the strata or local types of IE communities, to create and maintain the folklore narratives concerning the theme of witch hunt. Perhaps in some narrative variants the first archetypal witch appeared already on the side of *Ḭemo-, as his wife, mother, sister or concubine.

This basic socio-contextual duality is perhaps the reason why the witch-hunting theme used to be verbalised in two basic ways; either in political (Völuspā, Þiðreks saga, Bhagavat Devī Purāna, Slavic hag-war variations /Krivda/) or in agricultural (Slavic Saint George cult, concept of the crop defenders) realisation. In an elite environment, political aspects are stressed; evil is associated with penetration of foreign cult, social disorder/rebellion or foreign military threat. Here the need for a world restoring witch-hunting action is justified and generally conceptualised socially; witch is the enemy of the state. On the other hand, in professionally non-specialised environment, naturally focused on basic economic activities, rather the dominance of agricultural aspect can be expected; evil is primarily associated with agricultural infertility. The witch is the enemy of nature. This case theme was probably associated mainly with spring fertility rituals. The witch-hunting myth is then constantly and continually reinterpreted according to the needs of its actual performers and audiences.

Contra-feminine content, the depiction of a villain as a female, could be well preserved regardless of specific environment. Masculine tendencies can be reasonably expected in the worldview of conservative archaic societies in general. For them a woman, and especially socially active woman, always was one of the most typical representatives of peripherality and non-conformity, categories traditionally reserved for the evil.

Therefore the undifferentiated masses could represent the everlasting refuge of witch-war theme. As for the elite environment, theoretically, there can exist periods or locations, where the social status is more ascribed than achieved and/or is less locally dependent and thus, due to the explicitness and formal nature of social hierarchy, the dualistic witch-hunting ideology becomes more or less obsolete. However, among non-elite masses the formal hierarchies are less necessary or less complex, especially when the oppression of elite counters any natural attempt to establish them. And so the idea of a witch hunt is still more or less up to date here.

For this reason it can be suggested, that the basic narrative potential or basic narrative elements, which are eventually responsible for the occasional formation of more complex witch-war narratives, are rather situated among the lower social strata. And truly, certain inclination of the above analysed texts towards the demotic environment is obvious. Even when the witch-war theme is realised politically, the connection with reality of subordinate masses, use of their folklore concepts for example, remains.

The overall social overtone of the witch-war theme seems to be never entirely omitted, regardless of actual contextual realisation. Even in explicitly agricultural context the suffering brought by the witch has its significant social dimension. The idea of negative winter reign is expressed through Juda's enslavement of the whole groups of population. And note that also in Russian spiritual verses tradition the theme of awakening the nature is mingled with a fight against the subversion of religious (i.e. social) principles.

The cause of this state of affairs is perhaps the fact that even in rural environments the concept of witch still preserves a non-trivial portion of social content; for example social-spatial range aspect (witch among us; witch coming from neighbourhood; witch of different community), social marginality (witch as a young woman; witch as a widow; witch as extraordinary attractive/ugly/clever woman) etc.

Yet there is one more moment about the witch-hunthing myth. In certain sorts of northern Germanic narratives, namely in eddaic texts as well as in some sagas (Stitt 1992), the hierarchically structured heroic couple (Þōrr & Þjālfir to mention an eddaic example) occur. Here the subordinated hero (mortal peasant Þjālfir) fights along the side of his superior mentor (divine Þōrr) the dummy figurine representing the crucial enemy (a clay figurine of Mökkurkālfir representing a giant). As Lincoln (1981:128; 1991:12) suggested, these narratives could represent a relic of an archaic narrative complex behind initiation rituals practiced by (P) IE männerbünde. Reactualising the IE dragon-slaying myth, the initiate ritually becomes a mythical human hero *Trito- and being guided by his initiation mentor, the manly god *H_2ner-, he fights ritually the dummy representing the cattle-threatening serpent *Og$^{\text{u̯h}}$i-.

It is noteworthy in this regard that also in some variants of the witch-war theme the hierarchically stratified couple of heroes is present; the mentor (Īsung, Michael/Jegorij, Krṣṇa) and his protégé (Þēttleif, Jegorij/Il'ja, Indra). The text on bogatyrs battle against Krivda as well as Benandanti tradition show the strongest connection to this muster; they preserve the motif of mixed heavenly-worldly character of the couple. What is more, in certain Slavic variants of narratives as well as rituals the motif of a battle against the dummy figurine (Ježibaba, Morena) can be identified. And note also that a background myth of supposed PIE männerbund initiation probably contained strong agricultural accent; *Og$^{\text{u̯h}}$i- was a serpentine

demon guilty of stealing the agricultural commodity and taking it away to his cave, just like in the case of Slavic Saint George tradition and especially in the crop defenders tradition.

All these moments indicate the possible connection of witch-war theme to archaic initiation rituals. Perhaps in some IE areas during certain periods as a background ideology of youth männerbünde the dragon-slaying myth was replaced by more demotic, though still semantically related, witch-hunting myth. Again, from the point of view of anthropology and folkloristics, the exclusive initiation bands, naturally prone to simplified (dualistic) black-and-white worldview, would represent a fertile environment for adoption of witch-cleansing ideology. But also less militaristic realisations are possible, for example as narrative background for prehistoric (P)IE groups of crop defenders.

Figure 6 recapitulates textual structure of the witch-war theme, focusing on variations across all the analysed examples.

	CENTRAL CHARACTERS		PERIPHERAL CHARACTERS		WAR/BATTLE	RESURRECTION	BINDING MAGIC	HOLLOW ENDING	WITCH ASSOCIATED WITH BASEBORN/ MARGINALISED
	MENTOR (RULER)	PROTÉGÉ ('FIRST KNIGHT')	WITCH	WITCH'S PARTNER					
Æsir and Vanir	Oðinn	–	Gullveig – Heiðr	–	Æsir vs. Vanir	burned Gullveig / Vanir warriors resurrected	Heiðr charms brides / people	reconciliation and exchange of hostages	Heiðr attracting wicked (brides, people) and leading non-noble (Vanir)
Īsung and Hertnið	Īsung	Þēttleif / Fasold	Ostasia	Hertnið	Bertangas vs. Vilkinas	–	Ostasia conjures/ controls beasts	Īsung's elimination and Hertnið's hollow victory	Ostasia comming from eastern periphery
Devāḥ vs. Asurāḥ	Viṣṇu	Indra	Kāvyamāta	Śukra / B^{h}ṛgu	Devāḥ vs. Asurāḥ	decapitated Kāvyamāta resurrected	Kāvyamāta casts magic sleep upon Devāḥ	reconciliation (and exchange of hostages)	Kāvyamāta leading demonic Asurāḥ predestined to lose
Popelvār and Ježibaba	foreign king	Popelvār	Ježibaba	–	foreign kingdom vs. Ježibaba	Ježibaba's warriors multiply resurrected	–	–	Ježibaba associated with craft (weaving, artisians) and periphery (underworld)
Cveten Gəorgi and Juda Samodiva	Cveten Gəorgi	–	Juda Samodiva	–	Cveten Gəorgi vs. Juda Samodiva	–	(Juda Samodiva enchains baseborn professions)	–	Juda Samodiva enslaving representatives of base-born professions
Jegorij Xrabryj and three snake herdesses	Jegorij Xrabryj	–	three snake herdesses	–	Jegorij Xrabryj vs. snake herd	–	(three snake herdesses control snakes)	–	three snake herdesses unbaptized
Jegorij Xrabryj and Krivda	Archangel Michael / Jegorij Xrabryj	Jegorij Xrabryj / bogatyrs	Krivda	Antichrist	bogatyrs vs. Krivda	–	Antichrist casts paralisis upon Jegorij Xrabryj	(Antichrist left unbanished)	Krivda of anti-Christain nature, from beyound the river

Figure 6

Conclusion

This work tried to bring an interpretation of certain Indo-European /IE/ mythological topics within their complex context. Especially historical (macro-contextual) and socio-cognitive (mezzo-contextual) aspects of their background were taken into consideration. Archaeology, linguistics and historical, as well as socio-anthropological concepts and theories (wörter und sachen, ethnogenesis theory, a concept of the Big Man System, Cargo Cult analysis) were applied to model contextual aspects of analysed myths.

By means of this approach, it was possible to propose an innovative interpretation of an otherwise traditional mythological theme as well as to introduce a new one.

In the first interpretative part of the book, the topic of the well-known IE creation myth was discussed. First, in order to model its mezzo-contextual background, an attempt was made to reconstruct certain features of the original IE social organisation.

It was argued that ancient IE societies were probably organised along the principles of the Big Man System. The political power was in the hands of those single males, who were able to distribute resources among their followers in exchange for their support and service. As a supreme leader, the Big Man represented both sacral and worldly authority, operating as the priest-king.

Further, it was argued that the anthropological concept of the Big Man System seems to be compatible with the ethnogenesis theory produced by historical science. Ethnogenesis theory claims that historical "ethnic" groups of ancient and medieval Eurasia should be seen as hierarchal political units, so-called Gentes, gathered around the dynastically imposed leader and the core of his followers. The presence and the name of the leader and his followers (war band) were the

main elements responsible for the formation of Gens' group identity. Focusing on some anthropologically acceptable moments of ethnogenesis theory, it seems to be compatible with the concept of the Big Man System. Combined, they were chosen to be a tool to model the social body of ancient IE groups.

As for the modeling of macro-contextual processes behind IE creation myth, the well-received ideas concerning the formation of IE Urheimat proposed by David Anthony were applied. Anthony theorized that in the very beginning there was contact between two essentially different cultural systems. At the end of the 6th millennium BCE on the western border of the Pontic-Caspian steppes, semi-nomadic steppe hunters came into contact with a civilization of settled farmers of Afro-Asian /AA/ origin.

Pre-Proto-Indo-European /PPIE/ hunters accepted rather unwillingly agricultural technologies brought by the new neighbours. Moreover, even if they did so, over several generations they did not consume the fruits of their imitation as their daily diet.

The area of Dnieper Rapids was of key importance in this regard. Since the last Ice Age, it was inhabited by culturally unique hunters living in permanent densely populated settlements. They showed an increased level of military activity, differentiation of social status and the unusual habit of building permanent intergenerational graveyards. These hunters also started to practice stockbreeding; however, not as a source of daily food for generations. They used cattle only in sacrificial communal feasting associated with burial ceremonies of the new elite, whose appearance corresponds only with the emergence of stockbreeding. Another important moment was that this innovative culture of richly equipped Big Men, of sacral stockbreeding and permanent graveyards started to spread into all the other steppe areas as a cultural complex.

It was argued that this process shows many features of so-called Cargo Cults.

Cargo Cults were documented during the last centuries in several world locations, but mostly in the southern Pacific area in the second half of the 20th century. They became famous as quasi-religious movements organized by native communities in order to adore and obtain the products of western industrial economies; for instance, ritual operation of dummy bamboo airports in order to receive the dispatch of western cargo magically.

However, further research showed that Cargo Cults are rather a complex phenomenon. They can be defined as a revitalising social movement which emerges in societies affected by a crisis. Not only external, but also internal factors can be the cause of the crisis. The arrival of a superior cultural system is one of the possible triggering factors of external nature. Provided there is a sufficient measure of mutual similarity between both interacting systems (social norms, economic strategies, etc.), cognitive dissonance caused by "ontological shock" from the presence of a superior system arises among the members of an inferior culture. Its

society starts collapsing. Among its ruins a cluster of innovators is formed. They try to find a solution to the crisis, appropriate measures to become equal to their superior challengers. Since the imitation of successful behaviour is a basic adaptive strategy of anatomically modern humans in general, imitation of practices of a superior cultural system is often among the proposed solutions. Due to the existence of certain communication barriers as well as the association of crisis situation with the question of inferiority and superiority, imitated behaviour acquires shifted semantics, often with added status-marking and religious meaning.

As for the case of ancient PPIE Pontic-Caspian steppes, it was argued that the arrival of the advanced farming civilization probably caused a similar social crisis within the hunters' communities. At least in certain steppe areas; on the eastern borders as it was the place of direct contact and in the Dnieper Rapids, i.e., among the unique groups of socially advanced status-sensitive hunters. Here the integrity of the hunters' cultural system, naturally built around the cult of hunted animals, was weakened by the arrival of the Lords of the Animals; strangers controlling animals to even higher efficiency than hunters' shamans or supernatural agents. Moreover, the superiority of farmers was obvious in general; they had a number of unknown technologies (house building, stockbreeding, orcharding, copper metallurgy, etc.), and an abundance of food. It is then highly likely that hunters considered their new neighbours, with whom they shared the sence for ritual and hierarchy, alike and successful people worth imitating. Thus, clusters of innovators, a new elite of revitalized society, emerged among hunters, imitating farmers' technologies and behaviour with shifted (status marking, ritual, sacral) meaning. It came to the imitation of feasting pottery, sacral stockbreeding, etc. Through the practice of sacral stockbreeding hunters successfully demonstrated that they were equal to the strangers, they also would be able to become Lords of the Animals.

Nevertheless, here also ends the resemblance of this unique PPIE social development to modern Cargo Cults, as these recent examples were usually short-lived and socially unsuccessful in the end. But not so the Cargo Cult development in the PPIE steppes; due to favourable ecological conditions new Pontic-Caspian herders practiced stockbreeding to even higher efficiency than their original teachers. Because of the economic success of Cargo Cult practices, it can be assumed, and archaeological evidence seems to support this assumption, that an innovative cultural system was preserved, spread and finally gained a position of official culture throughout the entire steppe region. This process can help to explain the formation of PIE homeland as a culturally homogeneous (and more or less unique) area.

The conclusion about the Cargo Cult origin of the PIE cultural area leads to the reconsideration of the traditional PIE creation myth's interpretation. Traditionally it tells the story of three cultural heroes; twin brothers with reconstructed labels

*Manu- ('Human'), *Ḭemo- ('Twin') and *(S)Th$_2$eu̯r ('bull'). *Manu- sacrifices both of them; from his brother's body the world and society are created while from the bull's body domesticated fauna and flora originate. The pair of mythical brothers was interpreted as a reflection of personal divisions of power in PIE society between priest and king.

As for the reassessment of this concept, there exist more reasons to come up with a different interpretation.

First, the twin myth is culturally universal and is typical for elementary communities. Its popularity is probably rooted in the fact that it is an ideal manifestation of binary structural patterns, through which the human mind organises the perceived universe. In documented Cargo Cults innovated traditional twin myths often explained the causes of inequality between aboriginal and western societies; because of a primordial mistake of one of the brothers, ancestor of aborigines, they are now inferior to westerners, whose ancestor, the latter of the twin brothers, did not make the mistake. Thus, the very internal structure of the PIE creation myth makes it a hot candidate for considering its Cargo Cult origin and hence interpretation.

Second, there is a need to reconsider interpretation of the IE mythological texts themselves. Reading them consistently, supposed mythological successors of *Ḭemo- the King are not the typical or ideal kings at all; they are monsters, giants or unworthy wicked rulers. It refers to a rather negatively perceived entity. Also, the assumption about the division of power between the priest and king in PIE society is hardly sustainable. Archaeology, anthropology as well as linguistics suggest that the PIE ruler was rather a Big Man, an entity personally unifying religious and worldly power.

Therefore, the original semantics of IE cosmogonic myth could be reinterpreted as a relic of Cargo Cult ideology. Perhaps in one of its earlier stages it represented a certain kind of cargo myth, a narrative compensating for hunters' inferiority to farmers. It discussed the origin of superior foreigner technology, the reasons of cultural inequality as well as the possible solution to this problem. Here the negative character of Proto-*Ḭemo- could emerge; a representative of farmers and/or hunters' obsolete shamanic elites, depicted as an alien monster and/or unworthy ruler. Its counterpart was realised through the positive figure of Proto-*Manu-; a representative of hunters and their innovative leaders who ostentatiously defeats (through physical, perhaps ritual elimination) the alien monster and unworthy ruler.

One of the most characteristic motifs of the IE creation myth, the *destruction of the body* theme, is the hottest candidate to be nominated the Cargo Cult heritage. According to Mary Douglas, the concept of physical denial of the human body is typical for society in crisis, as a symbolic expression of rejection of its "social body", i.e. traditional social system and its institutions. Brutal expression of this idea in IE sociogony, butchering of the body explicitly connected with former as

well as future society, suggests that PIE social reality truly could rise from a system stricken by serious internal crisis, perhaps Cargo Cult in its nature.

Later on, when the story became the central ontological narrative of stabilised and stratified PIE Big Man System society, where all the Cargo Cult past was forgotten, its text changed accordingly. It focused on the problem of hierarchy and its legitimisation. Older Cargo Cult folklore motives, if still circulating in tradition, were detached from its original context and meaning. So, they worked only as motivic background to a different, current hierarchy theme. The story of priest-king *Manu-, human par excellence, who created a stratified society, was composed. As the matter of creation, his traditional adversary and all the associated older folklore structures were used; the twin brother, slaughtered unworthy ruler as well as semantically emptied (deprived of its original Cargo Cult crisis ideology) theme of the destruction of the body.

In the second interpretative part of the book an attempt was made to introduce the new IE mythological matter, the so-called witch-hunting myth. Again, as a prerequisite for further analysis, first the possible mezzo-contextual background of this theme was discussed.

It was argued that ancient IE elites probably adopted the dualistic worldview, dividing their world along *us and them / good and evil* principle. They considered the witch to be the representative of *evil them*, an archenemy, someone who pretends to be an insider but hides the perverted nature of the outside world. Especially foreigners, participants of different religious cults and women were the hottest candidates for a witch.

Women were seen as potential witches not only because of the traditionally masculine worldview of archaic male-centered societies. They were pushed into this role, and especially elite women, by the very principles of the Big Man System. Here women were excluded from the androcentric world of official and formal patron-client networks. To obtain at least a certain level of political influence they were forced to operate unofficially, via the non-formal shadow networks built either of other females of the elite environment or less successful men yearning for social climbing. In folklore this hidden subversive effort was stereotyped as the matter of unknown and alternative (sorcerous) powers of a witch.

Along with this sort of horizontal social dualism (us vs. witches,) the Big Man System also produced some vertical social dualism (elite vs. commoners). Its pragmatic society obsessed by success was necessarily divided into the cream of flourishing noble warriors and the masses of losing undifferentiated commoners. This dual structure was a constant source of possible social tensions. Namely, masses were often disengaged and disintegrated due to the oppression of elites, the merciless world of formality these elites built and maintained. Therefore, commoners were prone to rebellions emphasizing non-formalism; the inner experience, alternative spirituality, all-embracing unity, etc.

It can be expected that these two sorts of dualisms would easily get into mutual harmony (elite vs. commoners' witches) and, what is more, in the worldviews of both sides simultaneously. From the elite viewpoint, with their ritually and formally based identity, masses tending to rebellions and principles of witchcraft's informality deserve to become the object of a witch-cleansing crusade. Conversely, disintegrated masses felt their right to act against oppressors, to rise up and support alternative power structures and ideas of witches amongst them.

This complicated context probably formed the text of analysed witch-hunting myths. Its basic pattern was recurrently identified in ancient, medieval as well as modern folklore sources of IE traditions; masculine elite, often represented by an ideal hero, fights and defeats the witch associated with marginalized ideological (dark magic, necromancy, magical healing, paganism) and social (commoners, serves, women) entities. Particularly the motif of the witch's resurrection is the most significant realization of her alternative non-formal power and nature.

In accordance with the witch-cleansing ideology of general communal purification, the conflict is often depicted as a long, bloody and all-embracing war. Thus, even though the narrative naturally stands on the side of rulers, its significance for the entire society often leads to the conflict's conciliatory end. However, the story's "happy end" perhaps mirrors also the social reality itself; the point is in everyday cooperative life between both sides, even though in mutual tension, not the final victory of one of them.

This socially rich inference potential probably caused the folklore sustainability of the narrative, its synchronic as well as diachronic persistence and thus the frequent occurrence in IE traditions. Since the Big Man elites probably formed the backbone of IE societies from the (P)PIE beginnings, in their world the witch-hunting story on the military conflict between the priest-king and the witch-queen was always significant. Nevertheless, the dualistic *us and them* pattern of thinking is often typical also for the local reasoning of egalitarian, rather non-specialized populations. Thus, since the early PIE period there can be assumed a sufficient number of opportunities, favourable circumstances across all the strata or local types of IE communities, imposing the sufficient pressure to create and continually maintain the folklore narratives concerning the theme of the witch hunt.

It can also be concluded that the overall nature of witch-hunting myth depended on its current context. In variants circulating within the elite environment, the political aspects are emphasized; evil is associated with a foreign cult, social disorder, rebellion. The witch is the enemy of the state. In a non-specialized environment of a commoner, agricultural aspects are focused on; evil is represented as agricultural infertility and the witch as the enemy of nature. Contra-feminine content could be well preserved regardless of the specific environment due to the masculine tendencies in the worldview of conservative archaic societies in general.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

Sources

Avesta (18.06.2015) TITUS Project (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/iran/airan/avesta/avest.htm)

Beowulf: A Student Edition (1994) Ed. G. Jack, Oxford: Clarendon Press

De Gamle Eddadigte (1932) Ed. F. Jónsson, København: G. E. C. Gads Forlag

The Germany and the Agricola of Tacitus by Cornelius Tacitus (10.09.2014) Gutenberg Project (http://www.gutenberg.org/cache/epub/7524/pg7524.html)

A Heroic Legend: How the Holy Mountains let out of their deep Caves the Might Heroes of Russia (1935) Ed. and Trans. G. Struve, B. Pares, London: The Centenary Press

Homer: The Iliad I (1988/1924/) Trans. A. T. Murray, London: Harvard University Press

Homer: The Iliad II (1999/1925/) Trans. A. T. Murray, Rev. W. F. Waytt, London: Harvard University Press

The Hymns of the Ṛgveda (1999 /1973/) Trans. R. T. H. Griffith, Ed. J. L. Shastri, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass

Khorda Avesta: Zoroastrian daily prayers (2011) Ed. J. H. Peterson, Kasson: Twilit Grotto

The Life of Otto Apostle of Pomerania by Ebo and Herbordus (1920) Ed. Ch. H. Robinson, London; New York: Society for promoting Christian knowledge

MARINOV, D. (1994) *Narodna vjara i religiozni narodni običai*. Sofija: Bălgarskata Akademija na Naukite

MIŠÍK, Š. (1913) Slovenské povesti zo Spišského Hnilca. In *Sborník Muzeálnej slovenskej spoločnosti XVIII*. Turčiansky Svätý Martin: Muzeálna slovenská spoločnosť

POLÍVKA, J. (1923) *Súpis slovenských rozprávok: Sväzok I*. Turčiansky Svätý Martin: Matica Slovenská

Proročeskaja bylina: Kak svjatye gory vypustili iz kamennyχ peščer svoiχ russkiχ mogučiχ bogatyrej (1992) Ed. S. O. Prokof'ev, Moskva: IOJ

Rg-Veda (18.06.2015) TITUS Texts: Rg-Veda: Rg-Veda-Samhita. TITUS Project, Frankfurt a/M, 28.7.2009 (http://titus.uni-frankfurt.de/texte/etcs/ind/aind/ved/rv/mt/rv.htm)

The Srimad Devi Bhagawatam: Part I (1921) Trans. Hari Prasanna Chatterji /Swami Vijnananda/, Allahabad: Panini Office

Śrīmaddevībhāgavatam Mahāpurāṇam (1969) Ed. Rāmatejapāṇḍeya, Kāśī: Paṇḍita-Pustakālaya

ŠTREKELJ, K. (1904-1907) *Slovenske narodne pesmi: Svezek III*. Ljubljana: Slovenska Matica

Stiχi Duχovnye (1991) Ed. F. M. Selivanova, Moskva: Sovetskaja Rossija

The Tale of the Armament of Igor (1915) Ed. and Trans. L. A.Magnus, London: Oxford University Press

Þiðreks saga af Bern (1962) Ed. G. Jónsson, Reykjavik: Íslendingasagnaútgáfan

VETTERL, K., JELÍNKOVÁ, Z. (1955) *Lidové písně a tance z Valašskoklobouck I.* Praha: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd

Vøluspá (1978) Ed. S. Nordal, Trans. B. S. Benedikz, John McKinnell, Durham: Department of Eglish Language and Medieval Literature

The Zend Avesta: Part II: The Sîrôzahs, Yasts and Nyâyis (2007/1965/) Trans. J. Darmesteter, Delhi: Motilal Banarsidass

References

AÐALSTEINSSON, J. H. (1998) Blót and Þing: The Function of the Tenth-Century Goði. In *A Piece of Horse Liver: Myth, Ritual and Folklore in Old Icelandic Sources*. Reykjavik: Iceland University Press

ANTALÍK, D. (2005) *Jak srovnávat nesrovnatelné: Strategie mezináboženské komparace*. Praha: Oikoymenh

ANTHONY, D. W. (2007) *The Horse, The Wheel, and The Language: How Bronze-Age Riders from The Eurasian Steppes Shaped The Modern World*. Princeton; Oxford: Princeton University Press

ANTHONY, D. W., RINGE, D. (2015) The Indo-European Homeland from Linguistic and Archaeological Perspectives. *The Annual Review of Linguistics*, 1

AARNE, A., THOMPSON, S. (1961) *The Types of The Folktale: A Classification and Bibliography.* Helsinki: Academia Scientirarum Fennica

BARET, L., DUNBAR, R., LYCETT, J. (2007) *Evoluční psychologie člověka*, Praha: Portál

BEN – AMOS, D. (1971) Toward a Definition of Folklore in Context. *Journal of American Folklore Vol. 84*

BENVENISTE, E. (1973) *Indo-European Language and Society*. Trans. E. Palmer, London: Faber and Faber

BJØRSHOL, W. R. (2011) *The Incorporation and Integreation of the King's Tributary Lands into the Norwegian Realm c. 1195-1397*. Leiden: Brill Academic Publishers

BLAŽEK, V. (1992) *Historická analýza indoevropské zoologické terminologie (savci): Kandidátska disertační práce*. Brno: Masarykova Univerzita

BLAŽEK, V. (2003) Semitic *T̲ÁWAR- "BULL" and its Relatives. In *Selected Comparative-Historical Afrasian Linguistic Studies: Lincom Studies in Afro-asiatic Linguistics,* 14. Ed. B. M. Lionel, G. Takács, D. L. Appleyard, München; Newcastle: Lincom Europa

BOUCKAERT, R. et al. (2012) Mapping the Origins and Expansion of the Indo-European Language Family. *Science*, 337. https://doi.org/10.1126/science.1219669

BOYD, B. (2009) *On the Origin of Stories: Evolution, Cognition, and Fiction*. Cambridge; Massachusetts; London: Harvard University Press

BOYD, R., RICHERSON, P. J. (1983) Why is Culture Adaptive? *Quarterly Review of Biology*, 58

BOYD, R., RICHERSON, P. J. (1987) The Evolution of Ethnic Markers. *Cultural Anthropology*, 2. https://doi.org/10.1525/can.1987.2.1.02a00070

BOYD, R., RICHERSON, P. J. (2008) Gene-Culture Coevolution and the Evolution of Social Institutions. In *Better than Conscious? Decision Making, the Human Mind, and Implications for Institutions.* Ed. C. Engel, W. Singer, Cambridge: MIT Press

BOYER, P. (1990) *Tradition as truth and communication: a cognitive description of traditional discourse*. Cambridge; New York; Melbourne: Cambridge University Press

BROWN, C. M. (1998) *The Devī Gītā: The Song of the Goddess: A Translation, Annotation, and Commentary*. Albany: State University of New York Press

BUDIL, I. T. (2001) *Za obzor Západu: Proměny antropologického myšlení od Isidora ze Sevilly po Franze Boase.* Praha: Triton

CAMPANILE, E. (1996) Today, after Dumézil. *Indo-European Religion after Dumézil: Journal of Indo-European Studies, Monograph Series No. 16*

CHADWICK, H. M., CHADWICK, N. K. (1932-1940) *The Growth of Literature.* Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

CHRISTIANSEN, P. (1969) *The Melanesian Cargo Cult: Millennialism as a Factor in Cultural Change*. Copenhagen: Akademisk Forlag

CIGÁN, M. (2009) Poznámky k teoreticko-metodologickým východiskám komparácie a interpretácie indoeurópskych mytologických tradícií. *Axis Mundi*, 4/1

CIGÁN, M. (2010) Indra, Béowulf a netvorova matka vo vodnej jaskyni. Problém genetického pôvodu textových podobností archaických indoeurópskych narácií. *Axis Mundi*, 5/2

DERRY, T. K. (1979) *A History of Scandinavia: Norway, Sweden, Denmark, Finland and Iceland*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press

DE VRIES, J. (1963) *Heroic Song and Heroic Legend.* Trans. B. J. Timmer, London; New York; Toronto: Oxford University Press

DOLGOPOLSKY, A. (2008) *Nostraic Dictionary*. Cambridge: McDonald Institute for Archaeological Research

DOUGLAS, M. (1996 /1970/) *Natural Symbols: Explorations in Cosmology*. London: Routledge

DRONKE. U. (1997) *The Poetic Edda: Mythological Poems*. Oxford: Clarendon Press

DUMÉZIL, G. (1941) Jupiter, Mars, Quirinus: essai sur la conception indo-européenne de la société et sur les origenes de Rome. *Collection La Montage Sainte-Genevieve Vol. 1*

DUNBAR, R. I. M. (2004) *The Human Story: A New History of Mankind's Evolution.* London: Faber and Faber

DUNDES, A. (1980) *Interpreting Folklore*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press

FESTINGER, L. (1957) *A Theory of Cognitive Dissonance*. Evanston: Row

FORTSON, B. W. (2004) *Indo-European Language and Culture: An Introduction.* Malden; Oxford; Victoria: Blackwell Publishing

GAMKRELIDZE, V. T., IVANOV, V. V. (1995) *Indo-European and the Indo-Europeans: reconstruction and historical analysis of a Proto-language and a Proto-Culture. Part I: The text*. Trans. J. Nichols, Ed. W. Winter. Berlin; New York: Mouton de Gruyter

GEERTZ, C. (1973) Religion as a Cultural System. In *The Interpretation of Cultures*. New York: Basic Books

GELMAN, S. A. (2003) *The essential child: Origins of essentialism in everyday thought*. New York: Oxford University Press.

GINZBURG, C. (1992) *The Night Battles: Witchcraft & Agrarian Cults in the Sixteenth & Seventeenth Centuries*. Trans. J. Tedeschi, A. Tedeschi, Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press

GOFFART, W. (2002) Does the Distant Past Impinge on the Invasion Age Germans? In *On barbarian identity: critical approaches to ethnicity in the early Middle Ages*. Ed. A. Gillett. Brepols: Turnhout

GOLEMA, M. (2006) *Stredoveká literatúra a indoeurópske mytologické dedičstvo: Prítomnosť trojfunkčnej indoeurópskej ideológie v literatúre, mytológii a folklóre stredovekých Slovanov*. Banská Bystrica: Univerzita Mateja Bela

GOODY, J., WATT, I. (1968) The consequences of literacy. In *Literacy in Traditional Societies*. Ed. J. Goody, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

HAWTHORNE, S. M. (2006) *Origins, Genealogies, and the Politics of Mythmaking: Towards a Feminist Philosophy of Myth: Dissertation thesis*. London: University of London.

HAYMES, R. E., SAMPLES, T. S. (1996) *Heroic Legend of the North: An Introduction to the Nibelung and Dietrich Cycles*. New York; London: Garland Publishing

HLÔŠKOVÁ, H. (2009) *Príspevky k dejinám folkloristiky na Slovensku*. Bratislava: FF UK Katedra etnológie a kultúrnej antropológie

HOLLANDER L. M. (1968) *The Skalds: A Selection of Their Poems with Introduction and Notes*. Michigan: The University of Michigan Press

HOMZA, M. (2002) Niekoľko téz k počiatkom slovenského etnika. In *Studia Academica Slovaca 31: Kapitoly zo slovenských dejín*. Bratislava: Stimul

IVANOV, V. V., TOPOROV, V. N. (1965) *Slavjanskije jazykovyje modeliruščije semiotičeskije sistemy*. Moskva: Nauka

JOHNS, A. (2004) *Baba Yaga: The Ambiguous Mother and Witch of the Russian Folktale*. New York: Peter Lang

KANOVSKÝ, M. (2004) *Kultúrna a sociálna antropológia: Osobnosti a teórie.* Bratislava: Chronos

KANOVSKÝ, M. (2007) Essentialism and Folksociology: Ethnicity Again. *Journal of Cognition and Culture,* 7/3. https://doi.org/10.1163/156853707X208503

KARBUSICKÝ, V. (1995) *Báje, mýty, dějiny: Nejstarší české pověsti v kontextu evropské kultury.* Praha: Mladá Fronta

KULIKOVSKI, M. (2002) Nation versus army: a necessary contrast? In *On barbarian identity...*

LAWRENCE, P. (1964) *Road Belong Cargo: A Study of the Cargo Movement the Southern Madang District New Guinea*. Manchester: Manchester University Press

LINCOLN, B. (1981) *Priests, Warriors and Cattle: A Study in the Ecology of Religions*. Berkeley; Los Angeles; London: University of California Press

LINCOLN, B. (1986) *Myth, Cosmos and Society: Indo-European Themes of Creation and Destruction*. Cumberland; Rhode Island: Harvard Univesity Press

LINCOLN, B. (1991) *Death, War and Sacrifice: Studies in Ideology and Practice.* Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press

LINCOLN, B. (1999) *Theorizing Myth: Narrative, Ideology, and Scholarship.* Chicago; London: The University of Chicago Press

LINDSTROM, L. (1993) *Cargo Cult: Strange Stories of Desire from Melanesia and Beyond*. Honolulu: University of Hawaii Press

LITTLETON, C. S. (1966) *The New Comparative Mythology: An Anthropological Assessment of the Theories of Georges Dumezil*. Berkeley; Los Angeles: University of California Press

MALLORY, J. P. (1989) *In Search for Indo-Europeans: Language, Archaeology and Myth*. New York; London: Thames and Hudson

MATHESIUS, V. (1982) *Jayzk, kultura a slovesnost*. Praha: Odeon

McDONALD. J. (2004) The Cow and Her Calf: A Case in Indo-European Poetics and Iconicity. In *Journal of Indo-European Studies Monograph 49: Proceedings of the Fifteenth Annual UCLA Indo-European Conference*

MEAD. M. (1964) C*ontinuities in Cultural Evolution*. New Haven: Yale University Press

MURRAY, A. C. (2002) Reinhard Wenskus on 'Ethnogenesis', Ethnicity, and the Origin of the Franks. In *On barbarian identity...*

NEUSNER, J. (1966) Alike and Not Alike: A Grid for Comparison and Differentiation. In *Take Judaism, For Example*. Ed. J. Neuser, Chicago: University of Chicago Press

NORDAL, S. (1970-73) Three Essays on Völuspá. In *Saga-Book of the Viking Society 18*. Trans. B. S. Benedikz, John McKinnell, London: University College London

OINIAS, F. J. (1971) The Problem of the Aristocratic Origin of Russian Byliny. *Slavic Review,* 30/3

ONG, E. J. (2002) *Orality and Literacy*. New York; Oxon: Routledge

OOSTEN, J. G. (1985) *The War of the Gods: The Social Code in Indo-European Mythology*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul

OOSTEN, J. G. (1986) The Big Man and Ihumatar: Personal Power and Leadership in Melanesia and the Canadian Arctic. In *Private Politics: A Multi-Disciplinary Approach to „Big Man" Systems*. Ed. M. A. van Bakel, R. R. Hagestejin, P. van de Velde, Leiden: E. J. Brill

PADEN, W. E. (1988) *Religious Worlds: The Comparative Study of Religion*. Boston: Beacon Press

PILÁT, Š. (2007) Svatý Jiří a Slovanská mytologie. *Axis Mundi*, 2/1

PUHVEL, J. (1989) *Comparative Mythology*. Baltimore; Maryland: Johns Hopkins University Press

PUHVEL, J. (1996) After Dumézil, What? *Indo-European Religion after Dumézil: Journal of Indo-European Studies, Monograph Series No. 16*

RENFREW, C. (1990) *Archaeology and Language: The Puzzle of Indo-European Origins*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

SAHLINS, M. D. (1963) Poor man, rich man, big man, chief: Political types in Melanesia and Polynesia. *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 5. https://doi.org/10.1017/S0010417500001729

SCHRIJVERS, J. (1985) *Mothers for life: Motherhood and Marginalization in the North Central Province of Sri Lanka*. Delft: Eburon

SCHRIJVERS, J. (1986) Make your Son a King: Political Power through Matronage and Motherhood. In *Private Politics...*

SIDANIUS, J., PRATTO, F. (1999) *Social Dominance: An Intergroup Theory of Social Hierarchy and Oppression*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press

SLÁDEK, O. (2002) Hermeneutika a nová komparatistika Williama E. Padena. In PADEN, W. E. *Bádání o posvátnu : Náboženství ve spektru interpretací.* Trans. L. Kučerová, O. Sládek, Brno: Masarykova univerzita

Slavjanskie drevnosti: Etnolingvističeskij slovar´: Tom 2 (1999) Ed. N. I. Tolstoj et al., Moskva: Meždunarodnye otnošenija

Slavjanskie drevnosti: Etnolingvističeskij slovar´: Tom 3 (2004) Ed. N. I. Tolstoj et al., Moskva: Meždunarodnye otnošenija

SØRENSEN, J. (2011) Past minds: Present historiography and cognitive science. In *Past Minds: Studies in Cognitive Historiography.* Ed. L. H. Martin, J. Sørensen, London; Oakville; Connecticut: Equinox Publishing

STITT, J. M. (1992) *Beowulf and the Bear's Son: Epic, Saga, and Fairytale in Northern Germanic Tradition*. New York: Garland Publishing

SZEMERÉNYI, O. J. L. (1999) *Introduction to Indo-European Linguistics*. Oxford: Oxford University Press

TOOSI, N. R., AMBADY, N. (2011) Ratings of essentialism for eight religious identities. *International Journal for the Psychology of Religion*, 21/1

TURNER, F., PÖPPEL, E. (1983) The Neural Lyre: Poetic Meter, the Brain and Time. *Poetry*, 142

URBAŃCZYK, P. (2000) *Władza i politika we wczesnym średniowieczu*. Wrocław: Monografie FNP Seria Humanistyczna

VÁCLAVÍK, A. (1950) Svatý Jiří, trávu aj hady búří. *Naše Valašsko*, 13

VAN BAKEL, M. A. (1986) Early Samoan Leadership between Ascribed and Achieved. In *Private Politics...*

VAN DER LEEUW, E. S. (1986) On Settling Down and Becoming a 'Big Man'. In *Private Politics...*

VAN DER VLIET, E. CH. L. (1986) „Big-Man", Tyrant, Chief: the Anomalous Starting Point of the State in Classical Greece. In *Private Politics...*

WARDHAUGH, R. (1998) *An Introduction to Sociolinguistics*. Oxford; Massachusetts: Blackwell Publishers

WATKINS, C. (1995) *How to Kill a Dragon: Aspects of Indo-European Poetics*. New York: Oxford University Press

WATKINS, C. (2000) *The American Heritage Dictionary of Indo-European Roots.* Boston; New York: Houghton Mifflin Company

WENSKUS, R. (1961) *Stammbildung und Verfassung: Das werden der fruehmittelalterlichen gentes*. Koeln; Gratz: Boehlau Verlag

WHITAKER, J. L. (2011) S*trong Arms and Drinking Strength: Masculinity, Violence, and the Body in Ancient India*. New York: Oxford University Press

WOLFRAM, H. (1995) *Salzburg Bayern Österreich: Bagoariorum et Carantanorum*

Die Conversio Bagoariorum et Carantanorum und die Quellen ihrer Zeit. Wien; München: R. Oldenbourgh Verlag

WORSLEY, P. (1968) *The Trumpet Shall Sound: A Study of 'Cargo' Cults in Melanesia*. London: Macgibbon and Knee

ZAČEVIĆ, S. (1981) *Mitska bića srpskih predanja*. Beograd: Vuk Karadžić

РЕЗЮМЕ

Книга *«Пастырь-король воинов и ведьма-королева остальных: карго-культ и охота на ведьм в индоевропейском мифе и реальности»* представляет собой попытку охватить две темы сравнительной индоевропейской мифологии; общеизвестный индоевропейский космогонический миф и до сих пор неучтенный индоевропейский миф об охоте на ведьм. Акцент сделан на контекстную интерпретацию анализируемых мифологических текстов, особенно исторических, социальных и когнитивных обстоятельств их происхождения и передачи. Выбранный подход позволяет нам предложить инновационную интерпретацию традиционной мифологической структуры, а также определить новый, пока неизученный мифологический цикл.

Книга состоит из трех частей.

Первая часть посвящена теоретико-методологическим вопросам. В ней представлен и обоснован выбранный методологический и интерпретационный подход, и вытекающая из этого терминология.

Предметом второй и третьей частей книги является непосредственный анализ мифологических текстов.

Во второй части рассматривается первая из упомянутых тем, индоевропейская космогония. Поскольку тексты этого мифологического комплекса имеют значительное социальное или социогоническое значение, с точки зрения его контекстуальной привязки, анализируются прежде всего (до) исторические и социальные аспекты возникновения и развития протоиндоевропейского общества. Одним из результатов является вывод о том, что при формировании культурно однородного пространства индоевропейской прародины важную роль, скорее всего, сыграл доисторический

карго-культ. Доисторические индоевропейские охотники-собиратели реагировали на прибывающие группы культурно более развитых афро-азиатских фермеров подобно коренному населению Южного Тихого океана, которое внезапно столкнулось с реальностью технологий и продуктов западной индустриальной экономики. В случае препротоиндоевропейских сообществ, результатом этого с наибольшей вероятностью стала карго-культовая практика священного разведения скота. Это коренным образом трансформировало, а также культурно и лингвистически гомогенизировало общество охотников-собирателей понтийско-каспийских степей и, таким образом, привело к возникновению протоиндоевропейского культурного пространства. Таким образом, анализ контекста происхождения индоевропейского космогонического мифа позволяет выделить несколько исторических слоев в его тексте. Один из них, вероятно, является пережитком первоначальной препротоиндоевропейской карго-культовой идеологии.

Третья часть книги посвящена индоевропейскому мифу об охоте на ведьм. В основе этого мифологического цикла лежит история борьбы андроцентрической элиты, часто явно в военной форме, против сил, используемых демонической женщиной. Поэтому предметом контекстного анализа являются вопросы об иерархии и организации власти в архаичных индоевропейских сообществах, с акцентом на отношения элиты и маргинальных социальных групп. В последствии миф интерпретируется как повествование, выражающее и одновременно снижающее ключевые или потенциально проблемные моменты этих социальных структур.

EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE MASARYK UNIVERSITY

PhDr. Jan Cacek, Ph.D.
prof. Ing. Petr Dvořák, CSc. (Chairperson)
Mgr. Tereza Fojtová (Vice chairperson)
Mgr. Michaela Hanousková
prof. MUDr. Lydie Izakovičová Hollá, Ph.D.
doc. RNDr. Petr Holub, Ph.D.
doc. Mgr. Jana Horáková, Ph.D.
prof. PhDr. Tomáš Janík, Ph.D., M.Ed.
doc. JUDr. Josef Kotásek, Ph.D.
prof. PhDr. Tomáš Kubíček, Ph.D.
doc. RNDr. Jaromír Leichmann, Dr.
PhDr. Alena Mizerová (Secretary)
doc. Ing. Petr Pirožek, Ph.D.
doc. RNDr. Lubomír Popelínský, Ph.D.
Mgr. Kateřina Sedláčková, Ph.D.
doc. RNDr. Ondřej Slabý, Ph.D.
prof. PhDr. Jiří Trávníček, M.A.
doc. PhDr. Martin Vaculík, Ph.D.

EDITORIAL BOARD OF THE FACULTY OF ARTS, MASARYK UNIVERSITY

doc. PhDr. Daniel Drápala, Ph.D.
prof. Mgr. Lukáš Fasora, Ph.D.
prof. PhDr. Jiří Hanuš, Ph.D.
doc. Mgr. Jana Horáková, Ph.D.
(Chairperson)
doc. PhDr. Jana Chamonikolasová, Ph.D.
prof. Mgr. Libor Jan, Ph.D.
prof. PhDr. Jiří Kroupa, CSc.
prof. PhDr. Petr Kyloušek, CSc.
prof. Mgr. Jiří Macháček, Ph.D.
doc. Mgr. Katarina Petrovićová, Ph.D.
(Secretary)
prof. PhDr. Ivo Pospíšil, DrSc.

Priest-King of the Warriors and Witch-Queen of the Others

Cargo Cult and Witch Hunt
in Indo-European Myth and Reality

Michal Cigán

Published by the MASARYK UNIVERSITY PRESS,
Žerotínovo nám. 617/9, 601 77 Brno, CZ
in the monographic series **Opera Facultatis philosophicae Universitatis Masarykianae (Spisy Filozofické fakulty Masarykovy univerzity)** / Number 492

Editor in charge / doc. Mgr. Jana Horáková, Ph.D.
Editor in chief / doc. Mgr. Katarina Petrovićová, Ph.D.
Editorial assistant / Mgr. Vendula Hromádková
Series graphic and cover design / Mgr. Pavel Křepela
Typesetting / Mgr. Pavel Křepela

First published / 2019
Number of copies / 200
Printing and bookbinding / Tiskárna KNOPP s.r.o., U Lípy 926,
549 01 Nové Město nad Metují

ISBN 978-80-210-9341-6
ISBN 978-80-210-9342-3 (online : pdf)
ISSN 1211-3034
https://doi.org/10.5817/CZ.MUNI.M210-9342-2019